UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE *IN EUTROPIUM* OF CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS

ALFRED CARLETON ANDREWS

A THESIS

IN LATIN

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

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FOREWORD

When among other subjects for a doctoral thesis I proposed an edition of the *In Eutropium* of Claudian, Dr. Walton B. McDaniel suggested that I investigate the literature dealing with it in order to ascertain whether it had already been thoroughly exploited or whether it would still profit by a concentrated attack. Becoming convinced that the text required more careful determination and that the interpretation of many passages was unsatisfactory, I set myself the task of correcting this deficiency. In this undertaking Dr. McDaniel has been ever ready to aid and advise me, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the important rôle he has played. The dissertation in its final form bears evidence of many beneficial emendations by the other members of the department, Dr. John C. Rolfe, Dr. Roland G. Kent, Dr. George D. Hadzsits, Dr. Edward H. Heffner, Dr. Harry B. Van Deventer, and Dr. Robert B. Burke; and to them I wish to express my gratitude for their kindly ministrations.

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INTRODUCTION

1. *Scope and Purpose of the Thesis*

Early editions of Claudian are of so haphazard a character that they are of little value in constructing a critical text. Their voluminous observations have been digested by later, more scientific commentators, and, previous to Koenig, they do not merit careful investigation. The first critical edition is that of Jeep, which provides abundant testimonia; but Birt's edition of 1892 stands, for thoroughness and completeness, in a class by itself. It has no commentary, to be sure; but the introduction contains a perfect mine of information, and a word index with careful explanations and classifications not only clarifies many points, but makes it possible readily to determine Claudian's usage with regard to any particular word or expression. The latest edition of Claudian is that of Koch in the Teubner Library. Koch had long worked with Birt on textual questions connected with Claudian, and, reluctant to incorporate in his own book the recently published critical apparatus of his friend, he contented himself with discussion of dubious points. The only English prose translation of the *In Eutropium* is apparently that of Platnauer in his complete translation of Claudian in the Loeb Library. Platnauer at times changes the text unnecessarily, occasionally fails to grasp the exact meaning, and even commits some actual errors in his translation; but in a voluminous translation of a difficult author in which full investigation of the text and background is not expected he is certainly not subject to serious censure.

This dissertation aims to present a sound text of the *In Eutropium* with a translation designed to express with complete fidelity and clarity the precise meaning of the original. Considering a mere transcription of Birt's critical apparatus as futile, I have taken his text as the basis of my work and have supplied full textual readings and discussion whenever I differ from his reading or regard that reading as debatable. In the absence of a critical note, therefore, it may be assumed that the mss. offer no serious difficulty and that my text is identical with Birt's, except for trivial differences in punctuation. In determining the

text, I have followed the principle that the reading of the best mss. should be retained, if translatable. Before altering the text of Birt or accepting it at dubious points, I have tried to give proper weight to the statements of Birt and other critical commentators (e. g., Jeep, Koch, Platnauer, and Postgate), the use of the word or phrase in Claudian and other writers, the sense of the passage, and the authority of the mss.

Platnauer's translation has been helpful in gaining a preliminary understanding of the text; his solution of some difficult points is excellent; and his rendering at times is so felicitous that I have incorporated it.

The commentary, in addition to establishing the text by ample discussion, aims to amplify, clarify, and elucidate the translation by adequate notes as well as to identify briefly characters and places when such notes will lead to more ready understanding of the text. I have therefore avoided transcription of the numerous testimonia of Jeep and Birt, except when they clarify or support my interpretation of a passage, and in such instances I usually add further citations of my own. I have, however, occasionally included citations designed to illustrate Claudian's close adherence to classical usage.

The primary intent of the introduction is to provide an adequate background for appreciation of the meaning of the poem. Full investigation of the sources of the subject-matter here involved lies outside the stated scope of the dissertation and would require a more comprehensive grasp and treatment of the historical literature of the period than a work of this character demands. The bulk of the material on Claudian's life comes from Birt's introduction, supplemented by Platnauer, Glover, and Vollmer in Pauly-Wissowa. For the historical background Crees is especially valuable. His work supersedes most of the earlier work in that field (e. g., Chautard, Ney, and Vogt). Birt's introduction supplies abundant historical source material and references, and Tillement and Güeldenpenning treat the period exhaustively. Dunlap's study of the office of Grand Chamberlain gives an excellent biography of Eutropius. Birt's *Zwei Politische Satiren* deals with the resemblances of Claudian to Juvenal and Lucilius.

2. *Claudian: His Life and Works*

Claudius Claudianus, called the last of the classical poets, has left us as the only explicit evidence of his birthplace or native land the fact that he calls the Nile *nostrum* as opposed to Italy and Greece (*Carm. Min.* 19.3) and calls Egypt *solum commune* to himself and Hadrian (*Carm. Min.* 22.56). He indicates that Hadrian is an Alexandrian, by terming him *Pharius;* yet Birt forces the evidence in asserting that therefore Claudian was a native of Alexandria. If he had been from Memphis, Egypt would still have been *solum commune. Pharius* may be only another of Claudian's numerous particularizations, meaning no more than "Egyptian". And yet he calls Alexander *patriae conditor* (*Carm. Min.* 22.20), and Hesychius of Miletus avers he is an Alexandrian. Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 9.275) gives Canopus as his birthplace. He has no support, but may be correct. Birt is probably right in concluding (*Introd.* III-V) that he was not a Paphlagonian; Laurentius Lydus (*de Magistr.* 1.47), he suggests, was probably using the term only as one of abuse. It is not improbable that Claudian was born at Canopus and spent his youth at Alexandria, in close contact with its intellectual and cultural life. His erudition and his frequent references to things Egyptian suggest that seat of learning.

Claudian came to Rome apparently toward the end of 394, and under the protection of senatorial patrons made rapid progress. According to his own statement (*ad Prob.* 13 ff.), his first poem in Latin was his panegyric on the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, written apparently in December, 394, for they entered office January 3, 395. In calling this his first Latin poem he was probably paying a neat compliment to his two influential patrons by implying that no previous poem of his in Latin deserved even acknowledgment compared with his present theme. His command of literary Latin, moreover, indicates wide, attentive reading and assiduous practice in composition; but the purity of his diction suggests isolation from contemporary Latin influences. He seems, at any rate, to have published no Latin verse previously.

The fact that Claudian, in speaking of Stilicho's consulship in

400 (*Cons. Stil. praef.* 3), mentions a five-year absence from Rome and the fact that his letters to Probinus and Olybrius come from Milan indicate that early in 395 he went to that city, attracted by the superior opportunities for self-advancement afforded by the presence of the court. Honorius' decision to hold the consulship in 396 gave Claudian a precious chance to display his talents. He composed his panegyric on the third consulship of Honorius and for the first time gave a reading before the court, being "sent" by the Roman senate, doubtless through the influence of Olybrius and Probinus.

Some five weeks previously, Rufinus, praetorian prefect at Constantinople, had been murdered by troops under the command of Gainas. Claudian composed his *In Rufinum* to celebrate the happy event, apparently writing the second book considerably later than the first. The composition of this poem certainly falls within the years 395–397.

The *De Raptu Proserpinae* was probably written during the first two years of his stay in Milan. It was addressed to Florentinus, *praefectus urbi* from August 395 to the end of 397, when he fell into disgrace with Stilicho. This circumstance is probably responsible for the unfinished state of the poem.

In 399 he composed the *In Eutropium* (which will be taken up in detail later) and a panegyric on Manlius Theodorus that compensated for an earlier abusive epigram (*Carm. Min.* 21).

At the end of 399, or perhaps at the beginning of 400, he returned to Rome. Here, probably in February, he recited his poem on the consulship of Stilicho.

In 402 Stilicho defeated Alaric at Pollentia, and some time in the summer Claudian recited his poem on the Gothic War.

Claudian's last datable poem was on the sixth consulship of Honorius. This was composed probably toward the end of 403 and recited on (or after) the occasion of the emperor's triumphal entry into the city.

In 402 Claudian was at his zenith, and in the Forum of Trajan the senate and the emperor caused the erection of a statue in his honor, the inscription of which has survived. In 404 he won a bride from north Africa through the help of Serena, wife of Stilicho (*Carm. Min.* 31.43). The *Epistola ad Serenam*, probably

the last thing he wrote, was apparently composed during his honeymoon, in the course of which he died.

Claudian's poems reveal many close imitations of classical writers; but so intricately are their idioms and mannerisms interwoven in the fabric of his verses that they form elements of a style that is essentially Claudian's own. He was thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of the poetic heritage of the best period of Latinity; but he was master of his material and able to mould it into sweeping cadences of compact thought. Resemblances to Vergil are especially numerous, as well as to imitators of Vergil, e. g., Silius Italicus, Statius, and Persius. Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucilius, Martial, Lucan, Petronius, Catullus, Propertius, Livy, Seneca, Cicero, Apuleius, and Tacitus are others who have left distinct imprints upon the work of Claudian.

The brilliant sparkle of Claudian's poetry dazzles without warming. Like a finely cut crystal, it scintillates with ever shifting variety, but produces only admiration. The inner feelings are not stirred as they are by Vergil; the heart is untouched. Claudian is wonderfully dexterous, but incapable of moving profound emotion. In the field of the panegyric and the invective, he was preëminent; and of his invectives the *In Eutropium* is at once the most brutal and the most admirable. For this reason alone, aside from its literary merits and well sustained interest, this poem deserves more adequate treatment than it has heretofore received; and this dissertation aims to perform this service.

3. *The Career of Eutropius*

Theodosius died in 395, leaving his sons Honorius and Arcadius emperors respectively of the West and the East. Recognizing their youth and their feebleness of character, he had placed Honorius under the tutelage of the able Goth, Stilicho, and Arcadius under the guidance of Rufinus, in whose dexterous administrative powers he had much confidence. But as soon as Theodosius' check was removed, the inherent rapacity of Rufinus burst its bonds, and disregarding every dictate of justice and humanity, he increased his wealth and power by unscrupulous

elimination of opposition. Inspired primarily by a natural malice, in 395 he sped to Antioch and had Lucian, Count of the East, cruelly beaten to death, despite the patent integrity of his character. During his absence the chamberlain Eutropius struck a deft blow that permanently undermined Rufinus' influence. Rufinus had arranged for Arcadius to marry his daughter; but the emperor, succumbing to seductive descriptions of the charming Eudoxia, daughter of a Frankish general, consented to her substitution. Soon after Rufinus returned, the emperor's marriage was announced; but the gorgeous procession stopped, not at the home of Rufinus' daughter, but at that of Eudoxia, who soon evinced a strength of mind and character that rapidly broke Rufinus' hold on Arcadius.

Rufinus and Stilicho had always felt for each other an instinctive distrust and jealousy which was greatly intensified by Stilicho's military successes on the one hand and by Rufinus' tortuous political activities on the other. In the spring of 395 Stilicho seized upon Alaric's ravages in Greece as a pretext for asserting his claim to the protectorate of both East and West. He moved ominously toward Constantinople with a large army, prepared to do battle with Alaric. Rufinus, terror-stricken by his approach, persuaded the emperor to order Stilicho's withdrawal and the surrender of the Eastern troops under his command. Stilicho obeyed, and Gainas, his first lieutenant, proceeded to the capital with the Eastern soldiers, who ferociously butchered Rufinus as they were being reviewed by him and the emperor outside the city.

Eutropius succeeded to his authority, becoming *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in 396. He soon formed a coalition with Gildo, Count of Africa. The latter had received his office from Theodosius for meritorious service, and seeking freer scope for the unscrupulous tyranny he exercised, transferred his allegiance to a more distant authority, cutting off Rome from her all-important source of grain. Stilicho countered by sending Mascezel, brother of Gildo, and he, inspired by bitter hatred of his brother, soon crushed him. Gildo, attempting flight by ship, strangled himself in despair when he was driven back to land by an unfavorable wind. Mascezel died by an apparent accident, leaving Stilicho the dominant figure in the West.

Eutropius became consul-elect in the autumn of 398, perhaps in September (Birt, *Introd.* XL), and entered office in January, 399. Claudian displayed an increased rancor that extended to the entire East. Formerly he had singled out Rufinus for his venom and had scarcely mentioned Eutropius in connection with the Gildonic War; but now he assailed not only Eutropius, Hosius, and Leo, but the whole senate of Constantinople (2.326 ff.), the Halys and Orontes (1.434), and held up to scorn the *mollities Eoa* (2.112). This bitterness was probably at least partially due to Arcadius' condemnation of Stilicho as a public enemy and the latter's failure to obtain the consulship in 399. Arcadius was curiously exempt from attack. Although he was responsible for Eutropius' rise and tenure of power, Claudian clearly avoids criticising him. On the other hand, when he finally dislodged Eutropius from his pinnacle of authority, Claudian neglected to praise him for the act. In general, he maintains a discreet silence.

Claudian's savage assault upon Eutropius was not written until the beginning of his consulship in 399, for in Book 1 he has already entered that office. That Claudian did not open fire directly upon the announcement of his designation is to be explained by the fact that this event was so contemptuously ignored in the West that the senate did not even deign to express itself in an edict.[1] That he should ever actually enter office probably seemed preposterous. There was obviously as yet little call for an invective.

The first book also shows Eutropius still occupying his office and must therefore have been composed in January and published by itself not long afterwards. In early spring of the same year Eutropius made a pleasure trip to Ancyra (2.95–102). Apparently soon after his return from this trip, Birt states, the Gruthungian Tarbigilus was goaded by a fruitless audience with Eutropius to revolt (2.177).[2] After the uprising, probably about midsummer, Eutropius fell from favor (2.516–521) and

[1] Claudian, in alleging that his designation was known at Rome only by rumor, is supported by Eunapius, frag. 74.

[2] Birt quotes *frondes* 2.452 as evidence of the season.

was banished to Cyprus. Claudian thereupon composed a second invective dealing with his exile, complaining that he was not killed instead. Then he composed a third, supplementary poem that served as a preface to the second, in which his attitude had so changed that he rejoiced that Eutropius was not dead, and joyfully described his exile. The fact that his death was as yet unknown indicates the months June to September, 399, as the limits within which the second book and its preface were composed.

The verisimilitude of Claudian's portrayal of Eutropius is somewhat weakened by vicious concentration upon his most repulsive features and by occasional discrepancies. His appearance may well have been disgusting and his record disgraceful; but his ascent to power betokened a character ingratiating, subtle, obsequious, ingenious, and persuasive. He worked his way up by dexterous address, holding in check his inherent greed until possession of power made restraint seem no longer necessary. Chrysostom confirms his wealth and lavishness.

The Theodosian Code (395–399) throws indirect light upon Eutropius, since we can assume that the bulk of the enactments incorporated up to the time of his fall were prompted by him. The ordinances of Eutropius' early régime reveal a dexterous play for favor to strengthen his position. By zeal in prosecuting heretics he aimed to conciliate the Church, while by weakening the laws governing proscription and by rehabilitating the Lycians he tried to set himself in contrast with Rufinus as a model of justice and mercy. Very striking is an edict of September 4, 397, which seems to have emanated from Eutropius, forbidding conspiracies against men in high office or even against their servants, the intent to be punished as severely as the deed. The whole tone of the edict is wild and panicky, evincing an alarm that strongly suggests a recent scare. Eunapius (*frag.* 67.9.14.3) avers that Eutropius had a system of espionage. The edict seems to be more than a mere reaction against threatened loss of power. Eutropius was shrewd enough to realize that there could be for him no partial decline from power; if he slipped, it would be to complete ruin. It is not unlikely that he foiled a conspiracy aimed at his life and dropped his simulated kindliness to strike out in blind terror against further attempts.

Eutropius was willing enough to hound heretics in the hope of gaining the good will of the Church, so long as it did not interfere with his political activity; but he denied to the Church its jealously guarded right of sanctuary for fear that victims might occasionally escape his clutches, and a widening rift developed between him and the Church.

There are numerous miscellaneous edicts dealing with details of administration, including several of apparently beneficial character. For instance, justice was to be accelerated and no presents accepted by officials (9.1.18; 10.10.21), *curiales* were instructed to do their duty (12.18.2), the water supply was not to be misused, and encroachments upon the imperial property were discouraged. These, however, give no definite proof of the value of Eutropius' rule. It was instinctive for him to work beneath the surface, maintaining a bland exterior. He probably used good legislation as a blind, ignoring it when it interfered with his plans. Authorities agree in deeming him a venal office-monger, quick to rid himself of dangerous foes.

The second book against Eutropius deals in fanciful vein with the external events leading up to his fall. Claudian caustically arraigns the East for its servile submission to a eunuch, yet suggests that Eutropius may be sacrificed as a scapegoat. Diverted by the grotesqueness of a eunuch's administration, he gives way to the possibilities of the situation and riddles his target with volleys of humor. So long as Eutropius was in power, indignation was too strong to allow him to see humor in the situation; but the sense of relief following news of his fall let loose in full Claudian's robust, trenchant wit.

Eutropius' activities as consul produced an increasing tension in the East that was finally broken, according to Claudian, by an upheaval pivoting about Tarbigild, captain of a Getic squadron. Tarbigild may have made the overt move that brought on the revolt; but he was too petty a figure to head it. Intrigue was rife in the Eastern court, and there were persons ready to seize on any pretext to clip Eutropius' wings. His stringent enactments against conspirators and his spy system made inside operations hazardous; but restless barbarian elements could easily be incited to cause Eutropius much embar-

rassment, aggravated by internal connivance. Gainas seems to have been the figure behind the movement, prudently excluded from Claudian's story. He was a callous, stolid, savage-tempered, short-sighted barbarian, ruthless and treacherous. Being left in charge of the Eastern legions by Theodosius when the latter was himself ordered to withdraw, Gainas marched on to the capital and enthusiastically engineered the murder of Rufinus. Eutropius, succeeding Rufinus, dangled the bait of the command of the army of the East before Gainas and secured his allegiance. Their mutual greed for power led to distrust and open hostility, until Gainas, looking only for a chance to discredit Eutropius, fomented discord and hampered Eutropius' efforts to quell it. The fact that Gainas accomplished Eutropius' fall through treachery could not have influenced Claudian to eliminate him from the story. In the invective against Rufinus he seems to have been ignored in order to add more glory to Stilicho, the real author of the vicious act of treachery. Since his patron was not immediately involved in this worthy enterprise as well, Claudian was free to bestow due praise for the undertaking upon the chief author, unless praise of that person happened to be displeasing to Stilicho. We are led to conclude that Stilicho still resented Gainas' desertion to Eutropius so much that Claudian feared that in praising him he would antagonize Stilicho. Seeck and Crees both maintain that Gainas was a creature of Stilicho. And so he was until Eutropius enticed him from his allegiance; but this act must have rendered future reconciliation impossible. Even if Gainas, with the power of the Eastern troops behind him, had accepted Eutropius' offer of their command and had pretended to support Eutropius, although he meanwhile kept up in secret his allegiance to Stilicho, the wily Eutropius would probably have found him out and destroyed him. Actually, Gainas seems to have snapped wholeheartedly at the bait which Eutropius offered him, and to have sulked later, when he discovered that he had been caught with the lure of empty promises. Eutropius may have discounted the craft that lurked behind Gainas' stolid face and have made the error of considering him too unimportant to cause trouble. It is certainly clear that Claudian took pains to avoid mention-

ing him. Despite the fact that he was commander of the army of the East and an unusually promising target for satire, he is nowhere mentioned by name, even in the council of war in Book 2.

The causes and circumstances of Eutropius' fall are buried in a mass of obscure and conflicting evidence. We do not lack ancient sources; but they do not agree. Synesius would seem well qualified to report upon the event, for he was there at the time;[3] but soon after his arrival from Cyrene he attached himself to Aurelian and the anti-German party. Aurelian secured him immunities for his city and aided him personally. Synesius, in return, in an audience before the emperor denounced the corrupt tendencies of the time and particularly the use of barbarian mercenaries and the political encouragement of their leaders. His exhortations were politely ignored; Aurelian fell; and his successor detained Synesius in the city for three years and annulled the previous grants. Synesius, in no way abashed, attacked Caesarius, Aurelian's foe, in a vehement allegory called *De Providentia*, in which his jealous partisan spirit exalted his friends and debased his enemies. Osiris, clearly Aurelian, is a noble character who finally triumphs over the wicked Typho, recently identified as Caesarius. The only part of this allegory which deals directly with this revolt states that Typho, to further his own ends, played on the fears of the wife of the barbarians' leader, and that she passed on his suggestions to her husband, who was then away from the city on a campaign. Typho and he combine their forces and secure the supremacy, delivering the city over to the barbarians. Crees identifies the barbarian leader with Gainas, rather than with Tarbigild, probably correctly. This mystic, colorful allegory has been highly rated by Seeck and Güeldenpenning; but Hodgkin (*Italy and Her Invaders*, I. p. 657) states that "until Typho can be identified ('and even after,' Crees adds), it seems to me hardly wise to interweave this strange parable with authentic history."

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[3] Seeck (*Philologus* 52.442 ff.) reconsiders the evidence on the chronology of Synesius' stay at Constantinople and concludes (p. 459) that he did not depart in 400, but was there until at least 402. Synesius (*De Somniis* 148) says he was kept there three years.

Zosimus dealt more concretely with the inner events of the time. He states that Eutropius' rise stirred increasing jealousy in many quarters. Gainas, disgruntled by the meagreness of his rewards, dispatched his kinsman, Tarbigild, to stir up trouble in Phrygia. Gainas and Leo were commissioned to quell the revolt, and the latter crossed to Asia, tactfully avoiding encounter with Tarbigild. Meeting Valentius and a well trained army in Pamphylia, Tarbigild bought himself off and returned to dispose of Leo. Gainas had meanwhile arrived on the scene and ordered Leo to attack, insuring defeat by dispatching some of his own men to destroy Leo's camp. Painting a lurid picture of the fiasco and of Tarbigild's power and menace, Gainas advised the emperor that Tarbigild could be reconciled only by the surrender of Eutropius. Arcadius acceded, and Eutropius scurried to the sanctuary of the Church, from which he was extracted by Gainas and sent off to Cyprus under a strong guard.

Philostorgius and Socrates assert that Eutropius was indiscreet enough to threaten Eudoxia, who stirred the emperor to royal anger. Eutropius was stripped of his wealth and honors and sent to Cyprus. Then, on the pretext of a slight to the emperor, he was recalled, regularly tried by Aurelian and others, and put to death. Socrates puts the revolt of Tarbigilus after the death of Eutropius and says that the surrender of Aurelian and Saturninus, not of Eutropius, was demanded by Tarbigilus.

Chrysostom's homily *In Eutropium*, and in lesser degree the homily delivered after the eunuch's fall, are most valuable. Chrysostom owed his position to Eutropius, knew him well, and was intimately acquainted with the events of his career. His statements are trustworthy[4] and are warped by no conscious hostility, except that the dramatic possibilities of the situation led him to indulge occasionally in hyperbole and suppression of facts. On the whole, his account agrees with that of Claudian, but lacks its coarseness as well as its thoroughness of characterization.

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[4] Castelli, p. 146, says that Chrysostom shows his generous spirit throughout and that his sincerity cannot be doubted. He was impartial; Claudian was not.

Oddly enough, neither Claudian nor Chrysostom speaks of the immediate cause of Eutropius' fall. Despite Crees' doubts, Tillement may be right in believing that the emperor was influenced both by his wife and by political stress. The growing presumptions of Eutropius surely must have aroused increasing distrust and fear in Arcadius. Confronted by apparent imminent danger of barbarian invasion if he did not dislodge Eutropius, he might still have hesitated in craven fear of the eunuch's power, unless given the final slight impulse to action by Eudoxia, who would scarcely overlook so favorable an opportunity to dispose of Eutropius. Chrysostom does mention an insult to the empress, and he had too hearty a dislike for the empress to give her more credit than she deserved. Even if Synesius, as Crees states, had the best information, his story is too distorted to be trusted. He apparently had a poor opinion of Gainas' ability as a politician. Chrysostom mentions Arcadius as pleading for Eutropius with the soldiers and recounting his services. It is difficult to believe that Eutropius dominated Arcadius through some form of sexual perversion. Had that been the case, it would have been a singular move for him to introduce into the royal household a woman of the strength of character of Eudoxia, and it would have been even stranger if his influence had then continued unabated, as it apparently actually did. It is not improbable that Arcadius, as his father had done before him with Rufinus, indolently depended upon the administrative dexterity of Eutropius and quailed at the thought of being thrown on his own responsibility. Aroused to angry action by a real or fancied insult to the empress, he would soon have regretted his irremediable haste, since hostile factions would avidly have seized upon the act and taken fullest advantage of it. The long impatient troops, led by Gainas, would have clamored for the eunuch's blood so vigorously that Arcadius' feeble protests would have been drowned and he would have been compelled, willy nilly, to degrade Eutropius as completely as he had honored him.

Eutropius sought refuge in a church; but troops surrounded the edifice and demanded his surrender. The emperor with difficulty restrained them. Chrysostom vigorously maintained the Church's right to harbor him; but his homily delivered a

few days later offers only specious arguments for betraying Eutropius to the soldiers. The pressure on Chrysostom was severe; the impatient soldiers were likely at any moment to break into the church and override its right of sanctuary. He temporized by causing Eutropius to leave apparently of his own volition under a guarantee that his life would be spared. The eunuch was banished to Cyprus, then recalled and slain in Chalcedon, a suburb of Constantinople, on the pretext that his life had been guaranteed only in the city itself. The edict[5] announcing Eutropius' ruin is remarkable for the virulence of its language and valuable as confirming Claudian in many particulars.

The tension between the East and the West had been too seriously aggravated by the proclamation of Stilicho as a public enemy to be much relieved by this revulsion of feeling. Eutropius' name was erased from the Consular Fasti in the East; but there was no sign of reconciliation.

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[5] *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.17: January 17, 399. The date must be wrong, for Aurelian was not yet *praefectus praetorio*. *Cf.* Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, Vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 505.

SIGLA

V: codex Vaticanus 2809. 11th c. Cf. Birt, *Introd.* XCIV-XCV.

P: codex Parisinus lat. 18,552. 12th c. or beginning of 13th. Written in compressed, inelegant hand, with many abbreviations and errors. Cf. Birt XCV-XCVI.

C: codex Bruxellensis 5381. 11th c. Neatly written with few abbreviations. Cf. Birt XCVI.

Λ: edition of Barnabas Celsanus, published at Vicenza, 1482, a copy of which is preserved in the library of Florence under the No. A 4, 36. Cf. Birt LXXXII-LXXXV.

Em: excerpta Florentina, written in the margin of the above named copy of Celsanus.

E: corrections in the hand of Em in the text of Λ.

Π: codex Parisinus lat. 8082. 13th c. Once owned by Petrarch. Beautifully written, the initials being sketched in gold and varied colors. Cf. Birt XCVII.

B: codex Neapolitanus Farnesianus IIII E 47. 13th c. B^1 goes to the end of Bk. II of the *In Eutropium.*

A: codex Ambrosianus S 66. Middle or end of 15th c. Cf. Birt XCVII.

ε: excerpta Gyraldina in the margin of a copy of the Aldine ed., 1523, representing the excerpts of Gyraldus and Livineius. These closely resemble Em and E. Cf. Birt LXXXV-XCII.

ω: consensus of above codices except Em and E.

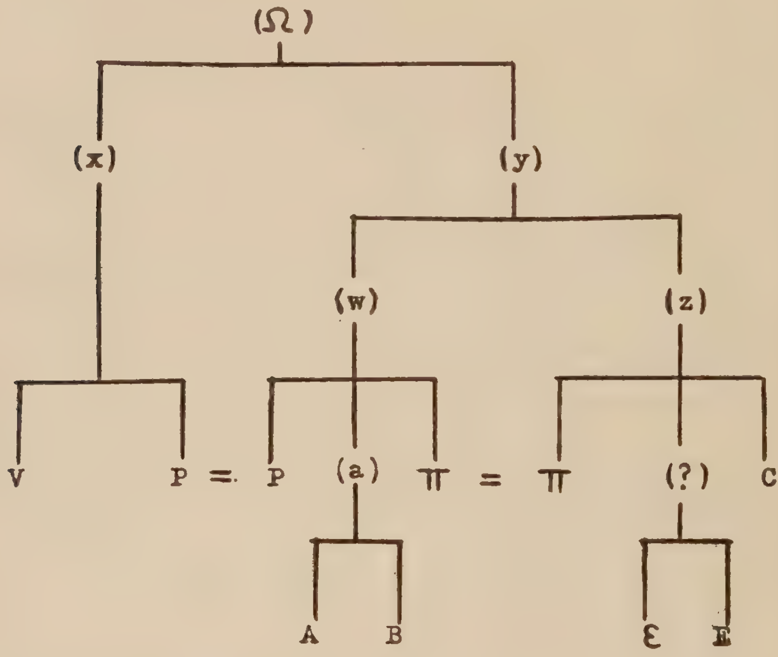
φ: remaining codices in addition to those with sigla above.

s: inferior codices.

Cod. Cuiac.: codices Cuiaciani, mss. from the library of Cuiacius used by Claverius in his edition of 1602 at Paris, otherwise unknown to us.

lib. Iseng.: Isengrin ed. (Michael Bentinus), Basel, 1534, which also cites mss. otherwise unknown to us.

Following is the family tree of the mss. which contain the *In Eutropium*, based upon Birt. Letters in parentheses refer to non-existent mss.



IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER PRIMUS

Semiferos partus metuendaque pignora matri
moenibus et mediis auditum nocte luporum
murmur et attonito pecudes pastore locutas
et lapidum duras hiemes nimboque minacem
sanguineo rubuisse Iovem puteosque cruore
mutatos binasque polo concurrere lunas
et geminos soles mirari desinat orbis.
Omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.
Heu terrae caelique pudor! Trabeata per urbes
ostentatur anus titulumque effeminat anni.

1: cf. Lucan 1.562: Monstrosique hominum partus . . . matremque suus conterruit infans. Compare this whole passage on portents with Juv. 2.117ff.

2: cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 10.796: Inque foro circaque domos ac templa deorum Nocturnos ululasse canes; Verg., *Georg.* 1.485–6: altae per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes; Lucan 1.559: feras sub nocte . . . media posuisse cubilia Roma.

3 PECUDES . . . LOCUTAS: Pliny (*N. H.* 8.44,45) attributes the power of imitating human speech to the hyaena, the corocotta, and the mantichora. On the portent of animals speaking cf. Tib. 2.6: Fataque vocales praecinuisse boves; Verg., *Georg.* 1.478: pecudesque locutae; Julius Obsequens 103: Arimini canis locutus; 74,85,86: bos locutus.

4: a rain of stones was a dire portent. The disaster at Cannae was said to have been foreboded by this prodigy. (Julius Obsequens 32: In Aventino Romae et Ariciae simul lapidibus pluit et multo cruore.) A nine-day expiatory ceremony was instituted by the *praetor urbanus* or the *pontifex* when this event occurred (Cf. e. g., Jul. Obs. 3). Pliny, *N. H.* 2.56 maintains that it rained not only *lapidibus* but also *lateribus coctis*. Cf. also Tib. 2.6: multus ut in terras deplueritque lapis; Jul. Obs. 3: In monte Albano lapidibus pluit.

5 RUBUISSE: sometimes means "to be reddened by blood." Cf. Ovid *Metam.* 12.71: Sigea rubebant litora; 11.375: sanguine litus undaque rubet; Verg., *Georg.* 2.430: sanguineis . . . rubent aviaria bacis; Cic., *Divinat.* 2.60: Lapideus aut sanguineus imber. Note esp. the association of Jupiter with the rain of blood in Petron., *Satir.* 140: sanguineoque . . . Iuppiter imbre. Note also Hor., *Carm.* 1.2.1–2: Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

Book 1

Let the world cease to marvel at the birth of creatures half man, half beast, and offspring terrible to their mothers, the howling of wolves heard at night in the heart of cities, ewes speaking to the amazement of their shepherd, showers of hard stones, a blood-red Jupiter menacing in the rain-storm, wells of water turned to gore, the conjunction of two moons in the sky, and twin suns. All portents have yielded to that of a eunuch consul. Oh shame of earth and heaven! A hag in consul's dress is paraded through the cities and effeminizes the name of the year. Lay open the verses of the Cumaean prophetess, pontiffs;

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grandinis misit pater et rubente dextera sacras iaculatus arcis terruit urbem; although here *rubente* probably refers to the refulgence of the thunderbolt. The "rain of blood" was probably caused by dust of ferric compounds being blown north from Africa and coloring the rain that fell on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. PUTEOSQUE CRUORE: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1.485: puteis manare cruor.

6 BINASQUE: Birt adopts this from B on the basis of *trinae lunae* in Pliny, *N. H.* 2.100. Koch accepts the *visasque* of the remaining mss., observing that *videre* is used of such prodigies in the same passage of Pliny. Yet he also notes Julius Obsequens 31: interdiu etiam duae lunae visae. CONCURRERE LUNAS: Pliny, *N. H.* 2.32 records the appearance of two moons in the sky in the consulship of Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius. Note Jul. Obs. 30: tres lunae distantibus coeli regionibus exortae; 92: In Gallia tres soles et tres lunae visae.

7 GEMINOS SOLES: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4.470: solem geminum; Jul. Obs. 73: duo soles interdiu visi.

8 CONSULE: free use of the ablative where a dative would be expected, or an ablative absolute. The consulship was still an honor second only to the throne, and its desecration was still acutely painful to the Roman sense of decorum.

10 TITULUM . . . ANNI: the year received its name from the presiding consuls. Under the empire, when tenure of office was reduced in order to permit more frequent bestowal of the honor, the year took its name from the *consules ordinarii*, who entered office January 1. Eutropius was one of these.

Pandite, pontifices, Cumanae carmina vatis,
fulmineos sollers Etruria consulat ignes
inmersumque nefas fibris exploret haruspex,
quae nova portendant superi. Nilusne meatu
devius et nostri temptat iam transfuga mundi
se rubro miscere mari? Ruptone Niphate
rursum barbaricis Oriens vastabitur armis?
An morbi ventura lues? An nulla colono
responsura seges? Quae tantas expiet iras
victima? Quo diras iugulo placabimus aras?
Consule lustrandi fasces ipsoque litandum
prodigio; quodcumque parant hoc omine fata,
Eutropius cervice luat sic omnia nobis.
  Hoc regni, Fortuna, tenes? Quaenam ista iocandi
saevitia? Humanis quantum bacchabere rebus?
Si tibi servili placuit foedare curules

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11 PONTIFICES: a term loosely applied to the members of the board of fifteen whose duty it was to consult the Sibylline Books at the request of the senate in the event of unusual prodigies or disasters for which ordinary remedies were inadequate. It continued to exist until the fall of paganism (Arnob. 4.35), but with gradually waning influence as a result of the imperial right of appointing members and the weakening of Roman religion.

13–14: cf. Joh. Schrader, *Musaeus*, p. 251 on this place. Birt formerly punctuated after *fibris*, persuaded by Mommsen, but in his final text omitted punctuation. The clause *quae . . . superi* appears to depend upon *exploret* either directly or as an appositive to *nefas* as an indirect question anticipating a future occurrence. A more important reason for the omission is the intimate connection of the haruspex with the inspection of the liver.

13 FIBRIS: along with divination by the observation of lightning, Etruria passed on to Rome the very technical pseudo-science of determination of the will of the gods through careful inspection of the livers of freshly killed animals. The fibrous makeup of the liver received particular attention. Cf. Propert. 5.1.104: sibi commissos fibra locuta deos; Sil. It. 1.138: fibraeque repente conticuere; Tib. 1.8.3: conscia fibra deorum; Verg., *Georg*. 1.484: nec tristibus . . . extis fibras apparere minaces; Tib. 2. 1. 25: viden ut felicibus extis significet placidos nuntia fibra deos; Ovid, *Metam*. 6. 391: perlucentes . . . in pectore fibras; Sil. It. 5. 162: extis quaesitae fibrae.

let skilled Etruria consult the flashing lightning and the soothsayer ferret out the horrible portent lurking in the filaments, what new things the gods forebode. Does the Nile stray from its course and seek, now a deserter of our world, to mingle with the Red Sea? Will Niphates' barrier be broken again and the East devastated by barbaric arms? Is a sickening plague coming? Will no crop respond to the farmer? What victim may expiate such wrath? By what sacrifice shall we appease the dread altars? The fasces must be purged with the consul's blood; the prodigy itself must serve as the appropriate offering. Whatever the fates are brewing by an omen like Eutropius, let him by his neck avert everything from us.

Do you hold such sway, Fortune? What is that cruel jesting of yours? To what extent will you play havoc with human affairs? If it has pleased you to defile the curule chair with the

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15 NOSTRI . . . TRANSFUGA MUNDI: i. e., does the Nile, no longer emptying into the Mediterranean, which is part of the Roman world, flow toward the Red Sea, which lies outside the Roman realm? *nostri* has no value as evidence of Claudian's native land, for the Nile's attempt to mingle with the Red Sea would make it no more a deserter of Egypt than if it flowed, as usual, into the Mediterranean.

16 NIPHATE: the Niphates is a lofty mountain chain in northern Armenia. A recurrence of the savage inroads of barbarian tribes in Asia was a forbidding portent. Cf. *In Ruf*. 2. 22–48 regarding their previous invasion.

19–20 QUAE . . . VICTIMA: cf. S. P. C. Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis*, 1921, Lugduni Batavorum, Theonville, for extensive material on expiation. Note Propert. 4.19.17: matris iram natorum caede piavit amor; Val. Max. 7.2.5: ut haberent di cuius capite, si quid irae conceperant, expiarent; Ovid, *A.A.* 1.649: monstratque piari . . . sanguine posse Iovem.

20 DIRAS: cf. Koch, *De Codicibus Cuiacianis*, p. 58.

23: Birt puts a period after *luat* and a comma after *nobis*. Cf. Koch, *De Codicibus Cuiacianis*, pp. 59, 62 under *Addenda*. Much less difficulty is involved if *omnia* is taken as direct object of *luat* and *quodcumque* as meaning "no matter what" and introducing a parenthetical clause. Mommsen, accepting the reading of V, prints *Eutropius cervice luat: sic omina nobis*.

24–25: note Hor., *Carm*. 3.29.49: Fortuna saevo negotio . . . ludum ludere; 1.33.12: saevo . . . cum ioco; Juv. 3.40: voluit Fortuna iocari; Ovid, *Pont*. 4.3.49: Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

crimine, procedat laxata compede consul,
rupta Quirinales sumant ergastula cinctus;
da saltem quemcumque virum. Discrimina quaedam
sunt famulis splendorque suus, maculamque minorem
condicionis habet, domino qui vixerit uni.
Si pelagi fluctus, Libyae si discis harenas,
Eutropii numerabis eros. Quot iura, quot ille
mutavit tabulas vel quanta vocabula vertit!
Nudatus quotiens, medicum dum consulit emptor,
ne qua per occultum lateat iactura dolorem!
Omnes paenituit pretii venumque redibat,
dum vendi potuit. Postquam deforme cadaver
mansit et in rugas totus defluxit aniles,
iam specie doni certatim limine pellunt
et foedum ignaris properant obtrudere munus.
Tot translata iugis summisit colla, vetustum
servitium semperque novum, nec destitit umquam,
saepe tamen coepit.

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28 QUIRINALES . . . CINCTUS: the magisterial robes of office, which harked back traditionally to Romulus.

29 VIRUM: cf. Ovid, *Amor.* 2.3.1: Ei mihi, quod dominam nec vir nec femina servas. Eunuchs belonged to neither sex. QUEMCUMQUEe: i. e., even the vilest, provided he be male. DISCRIMINA: Cf. Ulpian: Multum interest, qualis servus sit, bonae frugis ordinarius, dispensator, an vero vulgaris, vel mediastinus. Gradations of rank among the slaves of a large household were usual and produced social distinctions as sharp as among the élite.

31 UNI: *uni* Π, *uno* corr. to *uni* by P^1, uno φ. Birt has *uno;* Koch thinks *uni* arose from a conjecture and should be rejected, taking *domino . . . uno* as an ablative absolute, as does Gesner. Π is an excellent ms. and the *uni* of P^1 looks like an authentic correction. Moreover, a corruption from *uni* to *uno* is much easier than vice versa.

33 IURA: Eutropius was not *sui iuris*, but *in iure magistri*, and therefore each time he was sold he came *in ius novi magistri*.

34 TABULAS: i. e., the records of his sales. Cf. Juv. 2.119: signatae tabulae; Plaut., *Truc.* 71: tabulae, ubi aera perscribantur usuraria. VOCABULA: the formal name of a slave under the empire included that of his owner in full,

criminality of a slave, let there step forward a consul freed from shackles, let an escaped convict assume the robes of Quirinus; at least give some sort of man. There are certain discriminations even among slaves, each having his own distinction, and he who has lived under one master has less stigma of condition. If you learn the number of the waves of the sea or the sands of Libya, you will be able to count Eutropius' masters. How often he has changed hands, how often he has figured in a new bill of sale, how often he has altered his name! How often he has been stripped while the purchaser consulted a doctor lest any loss lurk hidden by reason of some obscure disease! All repented the purchase, and he was put up for sale again, so long as he could be sold. After he had become a hideous corpse, all sagging with anile wrinkles, then they vied to drive him abroad in the guise of a gift and hastened to thrust the foul present on unsuspecting friends. To so many new yokes did he bow his neck in servitude that was old, yet ever new, nor ever ceased to serve, yet often began!

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e. g., *Eleutherus C. Juli Florentini servus.* In case a slave was sold or inherited, his new name not only indicated his new owner, but retained the cognomen of his former owner in adjectival form, e. g., *Secundus Caesaris nostri servus Crescentianus.* Every time Eutropius was sold, his official name was changed. Cf. J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Leipzig, 1886, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 20, 21.

35 NUDATUS: *mutatus* A, *nudatus* ε φ Birt. *mutatus* may have crept in from the influence of *mutavit* in the preceding line. *nudatus* has better ms. authority and makes better sense. He certainly was not "changed" for medical examination, but "stripped". Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 69.1 virgines denudarent atque perspicerent tamquam Toranio mangone vendente; Enn. in Cic., *Tusc.* 4.33.70: nudare . . . corpora.

39 MANSIT: i. e., *superfluit.* Cf. *IV Cons. Hon.* 234: haec sola manet; Scrib. Larg. 21: corpora . . . necesse est maneant. DEFLUXIT: not *difluxit*, indicating a dispersion, but *defluxit*, suggesting the flaccid drooping of his senile flesh.

41 IGNARIS: receiving him as a gift, they would have no opportunity to discover by previous inspection what they were getting.

42–3 VETUSTUM . . . NOVUM: i. e., old in years, but new to the house.

Cunabula prima cruentis
dedita suppliciis; rapitur castrandus ab ipso
ubere; suscipiunt matris post viscera poenae.
Advolat Armenius certo mucrone recisos
edoctus mollire mares damnoque nefandum
aucturus pretium; fecundum corporis imbrem
sedibus exhaurit geminis unoque sub ictu
eripit officium patris nomenque mariti.
Ambiguus vitae iacuit, penitusque supremum
in cerebrum secti traxerunt frigora nervi.
Laudemusne manum, quae vires abstulit hosti,
an potius fato causam tribuisse queramur?
Profuerat mansisse virum; felicior extat
opprobrio; serviret adhuc, si fortior esset.

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45 DEDITA: *debet* PV^1 (cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1.14.16: ventis debes ludibrium) adopted by Birt, Koch, and Platnauer. *dedita* V^{2}φ has as good ms. authority and makes better sense. Cf. *In Eut.* 1.441: natos . . . dedere poenae; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.663: consortia pectora poenae dedidit; *Fasti* 1.359: noxae tibi deditus hostis; Columella, *Praef. R. R.*: Rem rusticam . . . noxae dedimus. His person was not owed to punishment, but actually given over to it. Note also Verg., *Georg.* 4.90: eum . . . dede neci; Livy 26.29.4: mergi freto satius illi insulae esse quam velut dedi noxae inimico; Plaut., *Aul.* 59: te dedam cruci. RAPITUR: note Arator, *Act. Apost.* 1.349: ubere raptos vulnera suscipiunt; Ennod. 43.91 (Vogel): matris ab ubere raptis; Mart. 9.8.3: ut ab ubere raptus . . . puer; Verg., *Aen.* 6.428: ab ubere raptos.

48 MOLLIRE MARES: Petronius 119.20 characterizes castration as peculiarly Persian. Claudian associates it with Semiramis, legendary founder of Babylon. The use of eunuchs was widespread among the ancient Medes, Persians, Assyrians, and Greeks. There was a strong prejudice against the practice among the Romans; but this crumbled under Oriental influences. Note Stat., *Sil.* 3.4.68: puerum mollire.

49 IMBREM: Postgate says on this passage substantially: "ignem is manifestly corrupt. But the old correction *inguen* is inadmissible if only for the reason that *corpus* is used in the same sense. We should write *imbrem*. The two words are confused in the text of Lucret. 1.784–5; Catull. 62.7; and elsewhere. For *secundum imbrem* we have an exact parallel in παιδογόνῳ ῥαθάμιγγι

His earliest infancy was in thrall to bloody torments; he was hurried away to castration from the very breast. Tortures took him up fresh from his mother's organs. An Armenian came flying up, practiced in castrating males with sure knife to enhance their loathsome value by the loss; the fecund fluid of the body he drained from its twin seat and with one stroke took away the function of father and the name of husband. Uncertain of life he lay, and the parted nerves drew the chills to the deepest recess of his brain. Should we praise the hand that stole an enemy's strength or rather complain that it gave to destiny a pretext? He would better have remained a man. His disgrace rendered him more fortunate; he would still be a slave if he were more virile.

Nonnus 25.416 in a precisely similar connection." AUCTURUS PRETIUM: eunuchs fetched such fancy sums that Domitian fixed and Justinian confirmed a scale of prices for them, setting the maximum at 30 solidi if they were less than 10 years old, at 50 if older, but unskilled, and at 70 if skilled.

51 OFFICIUM PATRIS NOMENQUE MARITI: overdone chiasmus or an actual error. A man performs the duty of a husband by begetting children and thereby acquires the name of father.

53 SECTI . . . NERVI: Hippocrates asserts in chap. 32 of his work on Airs, Waters, and Places that sterility was common among the Scythians, especially among the nobility. He says it was a common practice to sever a vein behind each ear as a treatment for a disease which was supposed to result from their excessive riding and states his belief that these veins were those near the ears the severing of which produced sterility. These veins were probably actually the posterior auricular veins, and it is likely that the practice arose of cutting these veins in cases of parotitis in the belief that the congestion was thereby reduced. The sterility that not infrequently followed parotitis was attributed to the severing of the veins, and it came to be accepted as a medical fact that to sever those particular veins would produce sterility. It would seem, upon superficial examination, that Claudian here might well be referring to a severing of the posterior auricular veins; but the use of *uno ictu* vitiates that notion, since one blow could not sever two veins, one on either side of the head. Cuiacius puns cleverly on this passage: Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.

Inde per Assyriae trahitur commercia ripae;
hinc fora venalis Galata ductore frequentat
permutatque domos varias; quis nomina possit
tanta sequi? Miles stabuli Ptolemaeus in illis
notior; hic longo lassatus paelicis usu
donat Arinthaeo; neque enim iam dignus haberi
nec maturus emi. Cum fastiditus abiret,
quam gemuit, quanto planxit divortia luctu!
"Haec erat, heu, Ptolemaee, fides? Hoc profuit aetas
in gremio consumpta tuo lectusque iugalis
et ducti totiens inter praesepia somni?
Libertas promissa perit? Viduumne relinquis
Eutropium? Tantasque premunt oblivia noctes,
crudelis? Generis pro sors durissima nostri!
Femina, cum senuit, retinet conubia partu,
uxorisque decus matris reverentia pensat.
Nos Lucina fugit, nec pignore nititur ullo
cum forma dilapsus amor. Defloruit oris
gratia; qua miseri scapulas tutabimur arte?
Qua placeam ratione senex?"

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58 ASSYRIAE . . . RIPAE: the Tigris was the great commercial artery of Assyria, which lay on the left bank of the river. The important slave markets of Assyria would naturally be found along that bank.

61 MILES STABULI: Birt and Platnauer. *stabulis* V[1]CΠP is supported by Burmann on the ground that *miles stabuli* EAv[2] is an awkward, unnatural expression. He takes *in illis stabulis* as a reference to the *caupona* where the slave-dealers conducted business. The reading *tabulis* B[1], if accepted, would be a reference to the records of Eutropius' sales in which the name of Ptolemaeus appeared and might easily have arisen from the proximity of the two s's. Platnauer thinks Ptolemaeus was a *stationarius*, or servant in a public post-house, with possibly a covert allusion to *stabulum* in the sense of *prostibulum*, a brothel. Yet *stabulis* (1.246), *decus stabuli* (Rapt. 2.209), *inani stabulo* (ibid. 3.265), *stabulis* (*IV Cons. Hon.* 81), *stabulis* (*In Eut.* 1.388), and probably *stabulum* (ibid. 2.93) all refer to the stable, while *praesepia* (68) is used by Claudian only in the sense of "stable" or "stalls". The irony of the passage, moreover, is certainly heightened by placing Eutropius' "marital" activities with Ptolemaeus in a stable.

Then he was dragged through the markets of the Assyrian river bank; next this commodity haunted the slave marts at the heels of a Galatian and changed from house to house—who would be able to enumerate so many names? Among these Ptolemaeus, a soldier of the stable, is better known. He, weary of long use of the concubine, gave him to Arinthaeus, for he was no longer worth keeping nor ripe for sale. When he went away scorned, how he groaned, with what grief he lamented the divorce! "Was this loyalty, Ptolemaeus? Is this the reward of a lifetime spent in your embrace, the marital couch, and the many nights passed among the stalls? Is the promised freedom lost? Do you leave Eutropius a widow, and does oblivion blot out such wonderful nights, cruel man? Oh the hard, hard lot of my kind! A woman, when she has grown old, maintains her wedlock through the tie of children; and the respect accorded a matron compensates for the lost grace of wifehood. Lucina shuns me, nor has a love that has slipped away with beauty the support of children. My facial comeliness has faded; by what means shall we wretches save our backs? In what way may I, now I am old, be pleasing?"

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63 ARINTHAEO: distinguished in civil and military life, consul with Modestus in 372. Cf. *Codex Theod.*, *Chronic. Alex.*, and Ammian. 27.12.13.

65 QUAM: for *quantum*, as Verg., *Aen.* 6.694: Quam metui.

72 PARTU: children were a powerful factor in holding a married pair together. Domitian remarried his wife after divorce *favore pignoris.* The importance of continuing the family line insured respect for the wife who produced children.

74 LUCINA: a cult epithet of Juno and Diana, often used as though of a distinct deity of childbirth. NITITUR: Koch adopts *nitimur*, the reading of Π^1,V^2 on the ground that the general sentiment of vv. 72–73 is supplemented by *Nos Lucina fugit*, an expression which is merely restated differently in the latter part of the line, while the construing of *nec . . . amor* as one expression causes the following *defloruit oris gratia* to suffer from brevity and abruptness. Yet *-mur* is in erasure in Π^1, and a second hand of one ms. is none too good authority.

76 TUTABIMUR: i. e., protect our shoulders from the lashings of exasperated masters.

Sic fatus acutum
aggreditur lenonis opus, nec segnis ad artem
mens erat officiique capax omnesque pudoris
hauserat insidias. Custodia nulla tuendo
fida toro; nulli poterant excludere vectes.
Ille vel aerata Danaën in turre latentem
eliceret. Fletus domini fingebat amantis
indomitasque mora, pretio lenibat avaras
lascivasque iocis; non blandior ullus euntis
ancillae tetigisse latus leviterque reductis
vestibus occulto crimen mandasse susurro
nec furtis quaesisse locum nec fraude reperta
cautior elusi fremitus vitare mariti.
Haut aliter iuvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
e gemino ditata mari; cum serta refudit
canities, iam turba procax noctisque recedit
ambitus et raro pulsatur ianua tactu
seque reformidat speculo damnante senectus;
stat tamen atque alias succingit lena ministras
dilectumque diu quamvis longaeva lupanar
circuit et retinent mores, quod perdidit aetas.

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77 ACUTUM: although Eutropius' voice was undoubtedly *acuta*, the epithet here applies explicitly to *opus*. The reading *avitum* (Isengr. mg.) would indicate that his was an old family profession.

79–80 OMNES . . . INSIDIAS: i. e., he had tried every artifice to wheedle a woman into surrendering her chastity.

83: Eutropius' owner, wishing to further his acquaintance with ladies who have intrigued his interest, sends the eunuch to win their favor.

85–88: as the lady's handmaid passes him in the corridor, Eutropius obsequiously attracts her attention and with a furtive whisper broaches his master's desires. *tetigisse latus* and *reductis vestibus* may, however, mean that Eutropius playfully pinched her side and drew back her dress to caress her. Note Ovid, *A.A.* 1.605: leviter . . . eunti velle latus digitis et pede tange pedem.

90 EPHYREIA LAIS: Lais was a celebrated courtesan of Corinth, the ancient name of which was Ephyra. She was notorious alike for her charm and her caprice. The *flammis* certainly refers to the hot passions of the suitors and not to the flashing gems they brought, a suggestion of Claverius refuted by Barthius and Burmann.

Thus speaking, he began the sharp trade of a pander with a mind not slow for the business nor lacking capacity for service, having tried out every ambuscade for chastity. No vigilance could be trusted to protect the marriage bed; no bars could keep him out. He might even have enticed Danaë from her hiding-place in the brazen tower. He would describe the tears of his amorous owner, would win over the stubborn by waiting, the greedy by a gift, and the wanton by jests. No other could more persuasively touch the side of a passing maid-servant and, lightly plucking at her dress, confide his criminal design in a secret whisper; no other could so prudently find a spot for the tryst or upon discovery of the guile elude the frenzy of the husband he had gulled. Just so was Lais of Corinth enriched from either sea through the passions of young men. When her gray hair rejected garlands and the wanton crowd now stopped its nighttime visits, and but rarely came a knocking at her door, as old age recoiled from the mirror's condemnation, yet she stood fast and as a pander groomed other harlots, and despite her age still made the rounds of the brothel which she had long loved and maintained through habit practices which her age rendered futile.

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91 E: *e* for *et* only P[1], yet adopted by Birt and approved by Koch, because Lais was not enriched by the passions of young men and by either sea, but by the passions of young men coming from either sea. GEMINO . . . MARI: i. e., the Sinus Corinthiacus and the Sinus Saronicus, situated respectively to the west and the east of the peninsula of Corinth. REFUDIT: *refutat*, although a plausible reading, occurs in only a few inferior mss. Burmann defends *refundit*.

92: i. e., garlands are appropriate to youthful locks, not to gray hair.

93 TACTU: *iactu* approved by Haupt (cf. *Hermes* IV. p. 146) without authority because of Horace's use of the word in *Carm*. 1.25.2. But there it is a question of windows, here of doors; and missiles are mentioned, which are needless for a nearby door (Koch). What young man would throw missiles at the door of a courtesan with whom he hoped to pass the evening?

95 STAT: *stare* in the sense of "persist in a course of action" is not unusual, although it is usually associated with an ablative specifying that course. Cf. Plaut., *Curc*. 250: ea omnes stant sententia; Cic., *Tusc*. 5.28.81: suis stare indiciis. SUCCINGIT: not merely "arrays" (as Plat.), but "trains" for the profession.

Hinc honor Eutropio, cumque omnibus unica virtus
esset in eunuchis thalamos servare pudicos,
solus adulteriis crevit. Nec verbera tergo
cessavere tamen, quotiens decepta libido
irati caluisset eri, frustraque rogantem
iactantemque suos tot iam per lustra labores
dotalem genero nutritoremque puellae
tradidit. Eous rector consulque futurus
pectebat dominae crines et saepe lavanti
nudus in argento lympham gestabat alumnae.
Et cum se rapido fessam proiecerat aestu,
patricius roseis pavonum ventilat alis.
Iamque aevo laxata cutis, sulcisque genarum
corruerat passa facies rugosior uva;
flava minus presso finduntur vomere rura,
nec vento sic vela tremunt. Miserabile turpes
exedere caput tineae; deserta patebant
intervalla comae; qualis sitientibus arvis
arida ieiunae seges interlucet aristae
vel qualis gelidis pluma labente pruinis
arboris inmoritur trunco brumalis hirundo.

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104 NUTRITOREM: it was not uncommon for a man, when his daughter married, to assign to her husband ownership rights of an aging nursemaid who had been a faithful, affectionate attendant of the girl from early childhood. Eutropius' services had been more particularly to Arinthaeus and had not been of long duration; yet he so much resembled a wrinkled old nursemaid in appearance and character that Arinthaeus rid himself of his presence by bestowing him upon his daughter as a personal attendant with the duties usually performed by an old nursemaid.

108 RAPIDO: used of anything violent, so of the sun "scorching", "fiery". Platnauer ignores the word. Cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 2.10: rapido fessis . . . aestu.

109 PATRICIUS: under the empire this was a title of great distinction, second only to the consulship, and conferred by the emperor. It was not hereditary and was usually granted charily. Cf. 2. pref. 2; 2.561; 2.69; 2. pref. 50. Cf. also Philosto. 11.4; Sozom. 8. 7; Zosim. 5.17.6. ROSEIS: this epithet is applied almost without exception to objects that are rose-colored. The

In this lies Eutropius' glory, and although the sole virtue of all eunuchs is to keep bridal chambers chaste, he alone prospered by adulteries. And yet his back still felt the lash whenever his furious master's lust had been fired and baffled, and vainly pleading and boasting of his many years of toil, he was turned over to a son-in-law as part of the dowry and a nursemaid for the girl. The regent of the East and future consul combed the tresses of his mistress and often, naked, held a silver basin of water for his charge as she washed. And when she was wearied by the fierce heat and had thrown herself on a couch, the "patrician" stirred the air with rosy peacock feathers.

And now his skin was slack with age and his face had become flabby with furrows on his cheeks, more wrinkled than a raisin. The tawny fields are less scored by the down-pressed plow, nor do sails flap so in the wind. Foul worms ate from his wretched head, and bare spots appeared in his hair, like patches of parched stalks gleaming among the starved beards in the thirsty fields, or a moulting swallow dying in the cold frosts of winter on the trunk of a tree. Surely it was one day to aggravate the outrage

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natural term to apply to peacock feathers would be *purpureus*, and the use of *roseis* here suggests that the feathers were dyed. Note Prop. 2.24.11: (Cynthia) et modo pavonis caudae flabello superbae (cupit).

112 FLAVA . . . RURA: Gell. 2.16.12 defines *flavus* as a mixture of green, red, and white. Vergil, *Georg*. 1.316 applies the term to fields to which the farmer is to bring a reaper. It is uncertain here whether *flava* refers to the ruddy color of the earth itself or to the stubble of the cut grain.

114 TINEAE: this word means "worms", and Harper's, Quicherat, and Platnauer are wrong in thinking that in this one place it has the meaning "lice". Claudian's description shows that Eutropius was obviously a victim of partial alopecia, a disease which is commonly produced by a species of ringworm.

116 SEGES . . . ARISTAE: the drought-pinched, bearded stalks are here and there lightened by patches of shorter stalks wholly without beards.

118 BRUMALIS: probably not a generic term, but only indicates the season.

Scilicet ut trabeis iniuria cresceret olim,
has in fronte notas, hoc dedecus addidit oris
luxuriae Fortuna suae, cum pallida nudis
ossibus horrorem dominis praeberet imago
decolor et macies occursu laederet omnes,
aut pueris latura metus aut taedia mensis
aut crimen famulis aut procedentibus omen,
et nihil exhausto caperent in stipite lucri.
Sternere quippe toros vel caedere ligna culinae
membra negant; aurum, vestes, arcana tueri
mens infida vetat; quis enim committere vellet
lenoni thalamum? Tandem ceu funus acerbum
infaustamque suis trusere Penatibus umbram.
Contemptu iam liber erat. Sic pastor obesum
lacte canem ferroque ligat pascitque revinctum,
dum validus servare gregem vigilique rapaces
latratu terrere lupos; cum tardior idem
iam scabie laceras deiecit sordidus aures,
solvit et exuto lucratur vincula collo.
Est ubi despectus nimius iuvat. Undique pulso
per cunctas licuit fraudes impune vagari
et fatis aperire viam. Pro quisquis Olympi

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120 HAS . . . NOTAS: the ugly patches in his hair left by the ravages of ringworm.

124 PUERIS LATURA METUS: cf. Seneca, *de Ira* 2.11: At timetur a pluribus, sicut deformis persona ab infantibus? *Dial.* 2.5.2: more puerorum, quibus metus incutit umbra et personarum deformitas et depravata facies.

125 CRIMEN FAMULIS: the revulsion which Eutropius' owners felt on seeing him extended in less degree to his involuntary associates. Cf. Publil. 421: nocentem qui defendit, sibi crimen parit; Priap. 9.13: nec mihi sit crimen; Liv. 45.37.6: cui crimen nullum est, nullum probrum dicere poterat. PROCEDENTIBUS OMEN: encounter with a negro or a cripple was generally thought an ill omen on starting a journey (Dempst apud Burmann ad loc.).

130 FUNUS ACERBUM: wherever *acerbus* is used in Claudian, it has the meaning "unpleasant" or "disagreeable". By a slight extension of the meaning we get "unpleasant to the nostrils" or "noisome", providing a natural reason for speedy removal of the corpse. On the other hand, Claudian was thoroughly familiar with classical Latin, where the meaning "immature death" is regularly

to the consular robes that Fortune added to her extravagance these blemishes on his brow, this ugliness of face, when his sallow form with its unfleshed bones repelled his masters, and his pale emaciation offended all he met, destined to cause fright to children, disgust to table-mates, to be a disgrace to his fellow-slaves and an evil omen to wayfarers, and when they could derive no profit from his wasted frame. His limbs in sober truth were unequal even to making beds or cutting wood for the kitchen; his infidelity forbade guardianship of gold, wardrobe, or secrets; for who would be willing to entrust the bed-chamber to a pander? At last they thrust him from their dwellings like the corpse of one prematurely dead or an ill-omened ghost. He was now free, because despised. So a shepherd fattens a dog on milk, fastens him with a chain, and feeds him when he is tied, so long as he is strong enough to guard the flock and to terrorize hungry wolves by his watchful barking. When later he becomes filthy and lets his mange-eaten ears droop, he looses him and removes his bonds as being alone worth saving.

There are times when scorn is all too helpful. Repulsed on every side, he could with impunity range through every sort of trickery and clear the way for his destiny. Oh, whoever you are

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associated with this phrase, and Claudian is not prone to depart from classical usage. Perhaps there was some special reason for speedier removal of the body of one who had died before his time. On this phrase cf. Gloss. Verg. p. 454.38: acerba mors, quae infantibus venit; Plaut., *Asin.* 595: acerbum funus filiae faciet: Verg., *Aen.* 6.429: quos . . . atra dies . . . funere mersit acerbo (Serv.: acerbo: immaturo; translatio est a pomis); Sen., *Dial.* 6.17.7: nullum non acerbum funus est, quod parens sequitur; Juv. 11.44: praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum; CIL 9.5557: Indigne occidit quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.

136 DEIECIT: *deiecit* Eω, *demisit* cod. Cuiac. Ms. authority and classical usage (e. g., Apul., *Metam.* 3.26: deiectis auribus) support *deiecit*, yet in defence of *demisit* cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.20: Demitto auriculas; Verg., *Georg.* 3.500 demissae aures.

summa tenes, tanto libuit mortalia risu
vertere? Qui servi non est admissus in usum,
suscipitur regnis, et quem privata ministrum
dedignata domus, moderantem sustinet aula.
Ut primum vetulam texere palatia vulpem,
quis non ingemuit? Quis non inrepere sacris
obsequiis doluit totiens venale cadaver?
Ipsi quin etiam tali consorte fremebant
regales famuli, quibus est inlustrior ordo
servitii, sociumque diu sprevere superbi.
Cernite quem Latiis poscant adnectere fastis,
cuius et eunuchos puduit. Sed vilior ante
obscurae latuit pars ignotissima turbae,
donec Abundanti furiis, qui rebus Eois
exitium primoque sibi produxit, ab imis
evectus thalamis summos invasit honores.
Quam bene dispositum terris, ut dignus iniqui
fructus consilii primis auctoribus instet.
Sic multos fluvio vates arente per annos
hospite qui caeso monuit placare Tonantem,
inventas primus Busiridis imbuit aras
et cecidit saevi quod dixerat hostia sacri.

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141 TANTO . . . RISU: the usual phrase is *vertere in risum* or *iocum*. Cf. e. g., Hor., *Ep.* 1.13.9: cognomen vertas in risum. MORTALIA: for similar use cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1.462; Tac., *Ann.* 14.54.

145 PALATIA: "consular residence" (Platnauer).

146: He was made *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in 396. Cf. *Codex Theod.* 9.40.17; Marcell. Com. a. 396.

151 FASTIS: as *consul ordinarius*, he would not only be enrolled in the *fasti*, but give his name to the year.

154 ABUNDANTI: a Scythian by birth. Entering the army under Gratian, he reached the eminent position of *magister utriusque militiae* under Theodosius, who because of his partiality to eunuchs was persuaded to advance Eutropius to high honors, possibly to grand chamberlain. Soon after Eutropius succeeded to the power of the realm through the elimination of Rufinus, he recommended to the emperor the banishment of Abundantius in order

who rule the heights of Olympus, was it your pleasure to make such a jest of human affairs? One who was not permitted to serve as a slave is accepted to rule, and one whom a private home scorned as a servant the palace supports as its lord. Who did not groan as soon as the palace sheltered the old vixen? Who was not aggrieved when a corpse, sold and resold, crept so often into holy ceremonies? Why, even the imperial slaves, holding a superior rank in slavery, murmured at such an associate, and for a long time haughtily scorned his company.

Look at the man whom they insist on inserting in the Latin calendar; even the eunuchs were ashamed of him! And yet previously meaner than now, he lived unnoticed as the most inconspicuous member of an obscure throng, until through the folly of Abundantius (who brought ruin on the Eastern Empire, but first on himself) he was swept from the nethermost bedchambers and raised to the highest offices. How well arranged are things on earth, that the fruit that bad advice deserves should fall on those primarily responsible! Thus the seer who advised placation of the Thunderer by the sacrifice of a stranger when the river had been low for many years himself first dyed Busiris' new-found altars and fell a victim of the savage rite which he

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to secure his office, and obtained his prompt dispatch to Phoenicia. Cf. Zosimus 259.20 ff; Eunapius of Sardis (F. H. G.) frag. 72. Cf. also Zosimus 5.10.6 on this passage and on vv. 167–170.

155 PRIMOQUE: *primoque* BA Birt, *primumque* V[1] CII P Koch, influenced by ms. authority and associating *primum* with *exitium*. I take *primo* as an adjective with *sibi*, meaning that Abundantius was the first to be ruined by his act and the state the next.

156 IMIS: Koch, considering it partitive, says that Eutropius served in the heart of the women's sleeping apartments. Plat. avoids exact translation. And yet "bed-chambers of the lowest sort" makes a perfect antithesis to "offices of the highest sort" . . .

159 VATES: Thrasius of Cyprus, having suggested to Busiris, king of Egypt, that he end a nine-year famine through the annual sacrifice of a stranger to Jupiter, was himself selected as the initial offering. Cf. Hygin., *Fab.* 56; Ovid, *A.A.*, 1.649; Apoll. 2.5.11.

Sic opifex tauri tormentorumque repertor,
qui funesta novo fabricaverat aera dolori,
primus inexpertum Siculo cogente tyranno
sensit opus docuitque suum mugire iuvencum.
Nullius Eutropius, quam qui se protulit, ante
direptas possedit opes nullumque priorem
perculit exilio solumque hoc rite peregit,
auctorem damnare suum.
Postquam obsitus aevo
semivir excelsam rerum sublatus in arcem,
quod nec vota pati nec fingere somnia possunt,
vidit sub pedibus leges subiectaque colla
nobilium tantumque sibi permittere fata,
qui nihil optasset plus libertate mereri;
iamiam dissimulat dominos alteque tumescunt
serviles animi. Procerum squalore repletus
carcer et exulibus Meroë campique gemescunt

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163 OPIFEX: Perillus, an Athenian metal-worker, built a brazen bull for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, in which condemned criminals were to be roasted. He was the first to test it. Cf. Göller, *De Situ et Orig. Syracus.*, pp. 272 ff. and Böttiger, *Kunstmythologie* 1.380. Cf. Pind., *Pyth.* 1.185; Diod. 13.90; Polyb. 12.25; Timaeus, fr. 116–118 (ed. Didot); Callim., fr. 119, 194.

166 IUVENCUM: the brazen bull was still young and untried, and Claudian therefore calls it a "bullock".

170 OBSITUS AEVO: Claudian seems to have borrowed the expression from Verg., *Aen.* 8.307: obsitus aevo. *obsitus* literally means "hemmed in from all sides", and when it is used in a less material way, it implies that the thing spoken of is beset by features or conditions of an offensive nature. Cf. Ter., *Eun.* 2.2.5: Video sentum, squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum; Tac., *Ann.* 4.28: inluvieque ac squalore obsitus; Livy 2.23: obsita erat squalore vestis; 29.16: legati, obsiti squalore et sordibus. *obsitus aevo* almost means "overwhelmed by squalid old age."

172 PATI: Birt prints *pati*, but defends *alii* (*Index*, p. 553). Koch objects to this conjecture as both hazardous and unnecessary, observing that the line is obviously general and has no direct connection with Eutropius.

had advised. Thus the craftsman of the bull and contriver of tortures who had cast deadly bronze for newly-devised torment first at the compulsion of the Sicilian tyrant felt the pain of the untried contrivance and taught his bullock to roar. Eutropius plundered and seized no one's wealth sooner than his who advanced him, ruined no one sooner by exile, and accomplished but one thing properly—the condemnation of his sponsor.

When, whelmed by old age, this emasculate was raised to a lofty point of vantage such as prayers cannot dare nor dreams conceive, and saw under his feet the laws and the bowed necks of nobles and destiny conceding so much to him who had hoped to gain nothing more than liberty, he now denied his masters, and his slavish spirit was puffed with pride. The prison was swollen with noblemen in sordid rags; Meroë and the plains of Africa groaned with exiles; the torrid zone rang with the punishment

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175: Birt and Koch place a period after *mereri*. If *obsitus* and *sublatus* are regarded as real participles with no omission of a form of *sum*, *vidit* remains the verb of the *postquam* clause, and *iamiam* picks up the main clause.

176 DISSIMULAT: i. e., "denied the existence of," claiming he never had been a slave.

177 PROCERUM SQUALORE REPLETUS: not "filled with the dregs of the nobility." This would have been no cause for complaint. It might, however, be rendered "filled with dregs that were nobility," although it seems preferable to regard *procerum* as a genitive of composition indicating that of which the *squalor* is composed and to consider *squalore* as used here concretely of a group of people in foul garments. *Squalor* is not uncommonly used of filthy clothes. Cf. Cic., *Sest.* 31.68: magno squalore; *Verr.* 2.5.48: squalorem sordesque sociorum.

178 MEROË CAMPIQUE: Eutropius got rid of everyone of any consequence, notably Timasius, who had been consul with Promotus in 389. According to Hieronymus, Timasius took refuge in Assa, near Mt. Athos. Eutropius finally proposed a law in which the right of sanctuary was denied. GEMESCUNT: *gemiscunt* Birt and all mss. except ECΠ. Koch adopts *gemescunt* from E, observing that this ms. is the best authority on orthography, a statement confirmed by Birt in his *Introd.*

Aethiopum; poenis hominum plaga personat ardens;
Marmaricus claris violatur caedibus Hammon.
Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum;
cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet, desaevit in omnes
ut se posse putent, nec belua taetrior ulla
quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis;
agnoscit gemitus et poenae parcere nescit,
quam subiit, dominique memor, quem verberat, odit.
Adde quod eunuchus nulla pietate movetur
nec generi natisve cavet. Clementia cunctis
in similes, animosque ligant consortia damni;
iste nec eunuchis placidus.
Sed peius in aurum
aestuat; hoc uno fruitur succisa libido.
Quid nervos secuisse iuvat? Vis nulla cruentam
castrat avaritiam. Parvis exercita furtis
quae vastare penum neglectaque sueverat arcae
claustra remoliri, nunc uberiore rapina
peccat in orbe manus. Quidquid se Tigris ab Haemo
dividit, hoc certa proponit merce locandum
institor imperii, caupo famosus honorum.
Hic Asiam villa pactus regit; ille redemit
coniugis ornatu Syriam; dolet ille paterna
Bithynos mutasse domo. Subfixa patenti
vestibulo pretiis distinguit regula gentes.
Tot Galatae, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia nummis;
si Lyciam tenuisse velis, tot millia ponas;
si Phrygas, adde—parum! Propriae solacia sorti

179: note Sil. It. 4.511: haec personat ardens. PLAGA: probably indicates specifically the tropical zone, as in Sen., *Herc. Oet.* 67, 1219.

180 MARMARICUS . . . HAMMON: Marmarica was the barren desert littoral between the Nile valley and the Cyrenaica. Jupiter Ammon is meant. This seems to be a hyperbolical allusion to the rumor that Eutropius covertly dispatched an order to Oasis, in upper Egypt, for the execution of Timasius, for whose exile he was responsible.

184: cf. Hor., *Carm.* 3.5.22: tergo . . . libero.

of men; Marmaric Ammon was profaned by the sacrifice of celebrities.

Nothing is more harsh than an obscure man raised to eminence. He strikes at everything, fearing everything, and storms against everyone to convince them that he can. No monster is more loathsome than a frenzied slave venting his rage on the backs of free men. He is familiar with groans and does not know how to be sparing of the punishment that he has undergone, and, remembering his master, he hates the man whom he beats. As a eunuch, too, he is influenced by no natural affection and cares for neither family nor children. All have mercy for those similarly situated, and common loss establishes a bond of sympathy; yet he is mild not even to eunuchs.

But worse grows his passion for gold—the only thing his gelded lust enjoys. Of what use was his castration? No power emasculates bloody greed. Trained by petty thefts, practiced in looting cupboards and in pushing back the bolts of unguarded treasure chests, his wicked hand is now employed with more profitable pillage in a worldwide field. All that lies between the Tigris and Mount Haemus he offers for sale at a fixed price, hawker of empire, infamous office-monger. One man gives a villa in a bargain for the regency of Asia; another buys Syria with his wife's finery; another regrets having exchanged his family homestead for Bithynia. A list posted in the open vestibule distinguishes the provinces by prices: let Galatia go for so much, Pontus for so much, Lydia for so much money. If you want to have Lycia, you may put down so many thousands; if Phrygia, add—it is too little! To solace him for his own lot he wants price-tags on

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186 DOMINIQUE MEMOR: note Pliny, *Ep.* 3.13: Largius Macedo, superbus alioqui dominus et saevus et qui servisse patrem suum parum, immo nimium meminisset.

196–7 QUIDQUID . . . DIVIDIT: i. e., whatever territory the Tigris marks off by means of its course from Mount Haemus.

205–9: compare this whole passage with Pacatus, *Paneg. Theod.* c. 25, 26, and especially stabat . . . ipse . . . ad lances et momenta ponderum nutusque trutinarum pallens . . . exigebat. On v. 205 cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2.3.69.

communes vult esse notas et venditus ipse
vendere cuncta cupit. Certantum saepe duorum
diversum suspendit onus; cum pondere iudex
vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.
Non pudet heu, superi, populos venire sub hasta?
Vendentis certe pudeat, quod iure sepultum
manicipium tot regna tenet, tot distrahit urbes.
Pollentem solio Croesum victoria Cyri
fregit ut eunucho flueret Pactolus et Hermus?
Attalus heredem voluit te, Roma, relinqui,
restitit Antiochus praescripto margine Tauri,
indomitos curru Servilius egit Isauros
et Pharos Augusto iacuit vel Creta Metello,
ne non Eutropio quaestus numerosior esset?
In mercem veniunt Cilices, Iudaea, Sophene
Romanusque labor Pompeianique triumphi.
Quo struis hos auri cumulos? Quae pignora tantis
succedent opibus? Nubas ducasve licebit,
numquam mater eris, numquam pater; hoc tibi ferrum,
hoc natura negat. Te grandibus India gemmis,
te foliis Arabes ditent, te vellere Seres;

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210 VENIRE SUB HASTA: the spear stuck in the ground was the ancient equivalent of the auctioneer's red flag.

211 QUOD: *quo* V[1] C, *quid* A, *quod* $V^3\varphi$. Koch accepts *quo* because of the ms. authority of VC. *quo* and *quid* would more easily be corrupted from *quod* than vice versa; the ms. authority of *quod* is fully as good; and the sense is somewhat better. *quo* would have to be taken as introducing a question, leaving *Vendentis certe pudeat* as a short, overly abrupt sentence. I accept *quod* with Birt, but place a comma after *pudeat* instead of a period, as does Platnauer, considering the clause to depend upon *pudeat*. Cf. Drac., *Orest.* 530: non pudet . . . quod pastor mea regna tenet. IURE SEPULTUM: since Eutropius had neither been legally freed nor retained as a slave, but had been abandoned to his own destiny, he was a *nil*, whose existence the law did not even recognize.

213: Cyrus defeated and captured Croesus in 546 B.C.

214 PACTOLUS: a tributary of the Hermus in Lydia, upon which Sardis, the capital of Croesus, was located. The Hermus (now Gediz-tschai) emptied into the Aegean not far from Phocaea.

everything, and having been sold himself, he is eager to sell everything. He often puts the conflicting bids of two rivals on the pans of a balance; the judge inclines with the weight, and a province oscillates on a pair of scale-pans.

Powers above! Are you not ashamed that peoples come under the spear? Certainly you should be ashamed of the seller, when a slave who is legally as good as dead and buried holds so many realms and parcels out so many cities. Did Cyrus' victory crush the mighty Croesus on his throne that the Pactolus and Hermus might flow for a eunuch? Did Attalus wish to leave you his heir, Rome, did Antiochus stay within the prescribed boundary of the Taurus, did Servilius drive before his chariot the unconquered Isaurians, and Pharos fall before Augustus or Crete before Metellus in order that Eutropius' profit might not be too meagre? Cilicia, Judaea, and Sophene, where Rome toiled and Pompey triumphed, go on sale.

Why do you pile up these heaps of gold? What children will succeed to such riches? You may take husband or take wife, yet you never will be a mother, never a father. The knife denies you one, nature the other. India may enrich you with huge

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215: Attalus III, king of Pergamum, willed his kingdom to Rome in 133 B.C.

216: Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, after successive defeats yielded to the Romans in 188 B. C., surrendering all his dominions east of Mt. Taurus.

217 CURRU: does not depend on *indomitos*. The Isaurians were a mountain people with little use for the chariot, especially in fighting. The reference is to the regular triumphal procession, in which the captives and spoils of war preceded the triumphing general.

218 PHAROS: the mole of the harbor of Alexandria, used for the city itself. Egypt submitted to Augustus in 30 B. C. Crete was conquered by Q. Metellus Creticus 68–66 B.C. and annexed to Cyrene as a Roman province.

220–1: Cilicia (in southern Asia Minor) was annexed by Pompey in 67 B.C. and Sophene (in Armenia) in 66 B.C.

226 VELLERE: cf. Papillon and Haigh on Verg., *Georg.* 2.121: Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres: "Silk was supposed to be a down scraped from the leaves of trees, until, in the reign of Justinian (about 530 A. D.), some Persian merchants brought silkworms from the East." Cf. Petron., *Bell. Civ.* 119: vellera Seres atque Arabum populus. Note also *III Cons. Hon.* 211.

nullus inops adeo, nullum sic urget egestas
ut velit Eutropii fortunam et membra pacisci.
Iamque oblita sui nec sobria divitiis mens
in miseras leges hominumque negotia ludit.
Iudicat eunuchus; quid iam de consule miror?
Prodigium quodcumque gerit. Quae pagina lites
sic actas meminit? Quibus umquam saecula terris
eunuchi videre forum? Sed ne qua vacaret
pars ignominia neu quid restaret inausum,
arma etiam violare parat portentaque monstris
aggerat et secum petulans amentia certat.
Erubuit Mavors aversaque risit Enyo
dedecus Eoum, quotiens intenta sagittis
et pharetra fulgens anus exercetur Amazon
arbiter aut quotiens belli pacisque recurrit
adloquiturque Getas. Gaudet cum viderit hostis
et sentit iam deesse viros. Incendia fumant,
muris nulla fides, squalent populatibus agri,
et medio spes sola mari. Trans Phasin aguntur

227: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1.146: urgens in rebus egestas.

229: Claudian recognizes the mixture of the tragic and laughable in Eutropius' elevation; but his laugh is rather sickly until after the eunuch's fall.

231 IUDICAT EUNUCHUS: in 78 B.C. the consul Mam. Aemilius Lepidus took action to prevent a certain eunuch from inheriting property willed to him in order to forestall contamination of the court by the presence of so obscene a person (Delbrius, cited by Burmann ad loc.). In 66 B.C. a consul quashed a praetor's decision as to the capacity of a eunuch priest to inherit (cf. Val. Max. 7.7.6 and J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law*, I. 72.n.4). Claudian implies that the feeling against official, legal recognition of eunuchs was still strong.

236–7: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4.197: dictis atque aggerat iras.

238: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 5.356: rubuit . . . Pallas et adverso risit Gradivus; *Silv.* 1.6.62: ridet Mars pater et cruenta virtus. AVERSA: the goddess turned her back in shame. ENYO: Bellona, goddess of war.

239–42: Eutropius' victory was apparently over the remains of the Huns (Tillement V. 441); but Güeldenpenning connects this episode with his embassy to the Goths after the fall of Rufinus, or thinks that Eutropius was

gems, Arabia with spice leaves, China with silk; no one is so needy, no one so hard pressed by poverty that he wants Eutropius' fortune if his body goes with it.

And now, forgetting its nature and drunk with wealth, his mind makes merry with the unhappy laws and the affairs of men. A eunuch is judge; why now am I surprised that he is consul? Whatever he does is a portent. What page records cases so conducted? In what lands have the ages ever seen a eunuch holding court? But lest he escape complete disgrace and leave something untried, he is even ready to desecrate arms, heaps portent upon prodigy, and capricious folly vies with itself. Mars blushed, and Enyo, turning away, laughed at the disgrace of the East, whenever the old Amazon practiced, sighting his arrows and resplendent with his quiver, or scurried back as arbiter of war and peace and conferred with the Getae. The enemy rejoiced upon seeing him, and realized that now real men were lacking. Conflagrations send up smoke; there is no relying upon walls; the fields are left stubble from pillaging; and there is hope only in mid-sea. Cappadocian mothers are driven across the Phasis, and captive herds, led off from their

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given the rank of *dux* and *magister militiae* (Crees, p. 79). Birt (*Introd.*, XXXIV) states that Eutropius, not content with the prefecture, apparently in 398 became *magister militiae*, having dislodged Abundantius in order to make room for himself, and tried to exclude Stilicho from the affairs of the East. The Gothic soldiers seem to have been responsible for less serious disturbances about 397. In 398 Goths poured in from the north and ravaged Asia and Syria. Three years previously barbarians, chiefly Huns, had invaded this region and had been repulsed between 395 and 397. Eutropius accomplished but little.

240 AMAZON: another thrust at his deformity.

244 SQUALENT: the fields either "were left stubble" from wholesale burning and cutting of the grain by the barbarians or "were left uncared for" because the farmers were frightened away. Note Lucan 2.534: Ardent . . . populationibus agri.

245 PHASIS: probably the upper reach of the Arares in central Armenia, rather than the Phasis which empties into the Black Sea in Colchis, near the foot of the Caucasian Mts., since it was a better known river and lay directly in the way of the retiring force.

Cappadocum matres, stabulisque abducta paternis
Caucasias captiva bibunt armenta pruinas
et Scythicis mutant Argaei pabula silvis.
Extra Cimmerias, Taurorum claustra, paludes
flos Syriae servit. Spoliis nec sufficit atrox
barbarus: in caedem vertunt fastidia praedae.
Ille tamen (quid enim servum mollemque pudebit?
aut quid in hoc poterit vultu flagrare ruboris?)
pro victore redit. Peditum vexilla sequuntur
et turmae similes eunuchorumque manipli,
Hellespontiacis legio dignissima signis.
Obvius ire cliens defensoremque reversum
complecti. Placet ipse sibi laxasque laborat
distendisse genas fictumque inflatus anhelat,
pulvere respersus tineas et solibus ora
pallidior, verbisque sonat plorabile quiddam
ultra nequitiam fractis et proelia narrat

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248 ARGAEI: Mt. Argaeus was a lofty volcanic mountain in Cappadocia and was the culminating point of the range of Antitaurus. Cappadocia was mostly woodless, but there were forests about the foot of the mountain, which was noted for its fine pastures. Cf. *Ruf.* 2.31: volucrumque parens Argaeus equorum; *Laud. Seren.* 191: Delectus equorum, quos Phrygiae matres, Argaeaque gramina pastae semine Cappadocum sacris praesepibus edunt. Cf. also Mart. Capell. 6.690 on Cappadocia.

249 CIMMERIAS . . . PALUDES: the Crimea was inhabited by the Taurians, remnants of the ancient Cimmerians, who left their traces in many place names. The shallow, treacherous waters of Crimea's irregular shore easily merit the name of *paludes*, especially since the extensive Lake Maeotis was often called Palus Maeotis. They formed effective barriers against access to the peninsula by sea. Note *Cons. Stil.* 1. 129: Cimmerii . . . litora Ponti; Gell. 17.8.16: Cimmerium mare; Capell. 6.662: Lacus Cimmerius.

254 PEDITUM: *tunc cum* V³A, *unum* Emϵ, *peditum* V¹ PCB Birt, *truncum* Heinsius because of *similes* v. 255; *vanum* Paul; *pro victore redit Hunum; vexilla sequuntur* Mommsen; *secuntur* VIIP.

255 MANIPLI: Suidas avers that eunuchs so increased in number under Eutropius that even lightly bearded men lost their lives along with their testes.

256 HELLESPONTIACIS: Priapus, according to tradition, was born and reared in Lampsacus, a city of Asia Minor on the Hellespont, and here his worship

home stables, drink the frosty waters of Caucasus and exchange the pastures of Mount Argaeus for the forests of Scythia. Beyond the Cimmerian swamps, barriers of the Taurians, the flower of Syria are slaves. The relentless barbarian cannot cope with the spoils; weary of plunder, they turn to massacre.

Yet this fellow (for what will shame a slave, an effete? Could a blush flame on this face?) returned as victor. Companies of infantry followed, squadrons of creatures like himself, and maniples of eunuchs, a legion fully worthy of Priapus' standards. His clients went to meet him and embraced their returned defender. He was delighted with himself, strove to puff out his flabby cheeks, made a show of breathing deep, the worms on his head strewn with dust and his features more sallow from the suns, howled some plaint in a voice more cracked than the crack of wantonness, and told of battles. In quavering voice he

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was especially strong. The assertion that this army of eunuchs was most worthy to follow the standards of Priapus is strongly ironical, for of all men eunuchs could least expect some direct benefit from addressing their devotion to a god of fertility and procreation.

261 PALLIDIOR: Eutropius' habitat had been the bed-chamber, and his depravity had accentuated the resulting sallowness (cf. v. 121) of his complexion. Far from tanning him, exposure to the sun only heightened the sickly yellow of his face. *Pallidus* often means "yellow". Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 2.30.30: solis . . . pallore. Stat., *Theb.* 2.333: primus Aurorae pallor; Ovid, *Metam.* 4.134: ora . . . buxo pallidiora; Mart. 1.41.4: pallentia sulfurata; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.110: Tollit humo saxum: saxum quoque palluit auro; Mart. 8.44.10: superba densis arca palleat nummis; Lucan 4.298: Asturii scrutator pallidus auri. A tempting translation would be "yellower than the sun"; but that would require *sole*, whereas *solibus* refers to the suns of successive days.

262 ULTRA NEQUITIAM: possibly depends upon *quiddam;* i. e., he uttered a complaint so trivial that it was more than worthless. It is probably better taken with *fractis;* i. e., his voice was more cracked and broken than one would expect from even his wantonness. Claudian rarely overlooks a chance to remark on Eutropius' effeminacy. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 2.14.12: fracta pronuntiatione; Quint., *Inst.* 12.11.2: quibus (voce, latere, firmitate) fractis aut imminutis aetate seu valitudine; Apul., *Metam.* 8.26 chorus cinaedorum quae statim exsultantes in gaudium, fracta, rauca, et effeminata voce clamores absonos intollunt.

perque suam tremula testatur voce sororem:
defecisse vagas ad publica commoda vires,
cedere livori nec sustentare procellas
invidiae, mergique fretis spumantibus orat.
Exoretque utinam! Dum talia fatur ineptus,
deterget lacrimas atque inter singula dicta
flebile suspirat: qualis venit arida socrus
longinquam visura nurum; vix lassa resedit
et iam vina petit.
Quid te, turpissime, bellis
inseris aut saevi pertemptas Pallada campi?
Tu potes alterius studiis haerere Minervae
et telas, non tela, pati, tu stamina nosse,
tu segnes operum sollers urgere puellas
et niveam dominae pensis involvere lanam.
Vel, si sacra placent, habeas pro Marte Cybeben;
rauca Celaenaeos ad tympana disce furores.
Cymbala ferre licet pectusque inlidere pinu
inguinis et reliquum Phrygiis abscidere cultris.

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263 TREMULA . . . VOCE: i. e., like that of an aged person.

266 MERGI . . . ORAT: Birt (*Zwei Pol. Sat.* p. 44) sees a double meaning here. Eutropius prays, not to be drowned, but to be immersed in foaming wine. He quotes various examples of the use of *mergeo* and *spumans* with reference to wine and drinking, but mentions no example that brings in *fretum.* Livy 26.29.4 uses *mergi freto* in its literal sense, and it seems dubious whether Claudian would have used *fretis* here with reference to wine. If we regard this entreaty merely as a bathetic bit of rhetoric, it is perfectly in keeping with Eutropius' character. Birt thinks the comparison with the visiting mother-in-law depends upon a common thirst for wine; but the similarity is rather a more general one of character, appearance, and behavior.

267 INEPTUS: Koch, because of VC. *ineptas* φ Birt.

271: note Ovid, *Metam.* 3.117: te . . . insere bellis.

272 PALLADA: Pallas Athena, goddess of war, as opposed to the Roman Minerva, patroness of handicraft, sewing, and weaving.

273: note Ovid, *A.A.* 1.692: quid facis, Aeacide? . . . Tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas.

swore by his sister that his powers had failed, lavished for the public welfare, that he yielded to jealousy and was unequal to the storms of envy, and begged to be drowned in the foaming sea. (Would that his prayer had been granted!) As the simpleton spoke these words, he wiped away the tears and dolefully sighed after every word, like a sere old woman coming from afar to visit her daughter-in-law; she hardly sits down to rest before she asks for wine.

Why, foul creature, do you obtrude yourself in wars or provoke the Pallas of the pitiless battlefield? You can cling to the pursuits of the other Minerva and be content with bolts, not of lead, but of cloth; you can know spinning, use your knowledge of the craft to spur on the lagging girls, and roll the snowy wool into quotas for the mistress. Or, if you like rituals, hold to Cybele instead of Mars. Learn the frenzy of the Corybantes to the music of the hoarse tambours. Carry cymbals, lacerate your breast with the pine cone, and carve off what is left of your privates with Phrygian knives. Leave weapons to men! Why

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276 PENSIS: a *pensum* is properly the wool weighed out to a slave to spin in a day. Platnauer's translation "for thy mistress' weaving" seems inaccurate both because *pensis* is plural and refers to several allotments of wool, probably upon the same day, and because Eutropius would not be making up allotments of wool for the mistress to spin, but to dole out to the slaves for them to spin.

277 HABEAS: can have either potential or jussive force. The intermingling of command and concession in the passage (*potes* v. 273, *disce* v. 278, *licet* v. 279, *relinque* v. 281) leaves it in doubt. CYBEBEN: a eunuch's worship would appropriately be directed to Cybele, whose priests were eunuchs.

278 CELAENAEOS . . . FURORES: i. e., the frenzy of Attis or of the Corybantes. Celaenae was a city of Phrygia near the source of the Maeander associated particularly with Cybele and Attis.

280 INGUINIS: for similar use of the word cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.346; Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.26; 116; Juv. 6.370. Note Juv. 2.116: Phrygio . . . more . . . cultris abrumpere partem.

Arma relinque viris. Geminam quid dividis aulam
conarisque pios odiis committere fratres?
Te magis, ah demens, veterem si respicis artem,
conciliare decet.
Gestis pro talibus annum
flagitet Eutropius, ne quid non polluat unus,
dux acies, iudex praetoria, tempora consul.
Nil adeo foedum quod non exacta vetustas
ediderit longique labor commiserit aevi.
Oedipodes matrem, natam duxisse Thyestes
cantatur, peperit fratres Iocasta marito
et Pelopea sibi. Thebas ac funera Troiae
tristis Erechthei deplorat scena theatri.
In volucrem Tereus, Cadmus se vertit in anguem.
Scylla novos mirata canes. Hunc arbore figit,
elevat hunc pluma, squamis hunc fabula vestit,

281–2: cf. Zosimus 5.11.3 on these and vv. 397 ff. Note Verg., *Aen.* 9.621: sinite arma viris.

281–4 GEMINAM . . . DECET: Birt comments on the puzzling looseness of connection between this block and what precedes, acknowledging, however, that the lines do not seem spurious. Koch conjectures *quin* for *quid* in v. 281, saying in substance: "vv. 234–281 have dealt with Eutropius as *magister militum*, abrogating to himself the subjugation of the barbarians; it is proposed that he should cultivate Cybele instead of Mars. Now suddenly it is a matter of the intrigue by which he attached Gildo to the East and stirred up hate between the two brothers. The interrogative *quid* suggests a very close connection between the two blocks and implies that there is no change of topic. Accordingly, since the verses can scarcely be spurious, I am persuaded that the defect lies in *quid*. I have written *quin*, which is read for *quin etiam* in *In Eut.* 2.526 and *Stil.* 2.160."

Yet Eutropius' military activity and intrigue with the barbarians may very well have directly antagonized Stilicho and added definitely to the widening cleft between the two brothers.

284 CONCILIARE: formerly as a pander he made unions his specialty; why not now effect a union of the royal brothers?

285: cf. *Cons. Theod.* 266; *In Eut.* 2.127.

286 DUX: Güeldenpenning (p. 29) thinks he had no definite military command. IUDEX: Birt (*Introd.* XXX) errs in thinking Eutropius became *prae-*

do you sunder the two royal houses and try to embroil loyal brothers in hate? Madman, if you consider your former profession, conciliation is more fitting.

In return for these achievements, let Eutropius clamor for a year in office to insure his unaided pollution of everything, that he may disgrace the army as leader, the courts as judge, and the calendar as consul.

There is nothing so foul that bygone time has not produced it and the labor of infinite time committed it. Poetry tells us that Oedipus married his mother and Thyestes his daughter; Jocasta bore brothers to her husband; and Thyestes' daughter bore a brother to herself. The tragic stage of the Athenian theatre tells the tale of Thebes and the ruin of Troy. Tereus was changed into a bird, Cadmus into a snake. Scylla was aghast at her newborn dogs. Story fixes one man in a tree, uplifts another on wings, clothes another in scales, dissolves another in a river.

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ectus praetorio. He does not so appear in the Codex and there is no room for him. Birt's argument that his tenure of that office is ignored with contempt and indignation in the edict of the Codex that is concerned with the death of Eutropius is seriously weakened in view of the disgust and loathing which the same edict openly avows for the consulship which he defiled by his occupancy.

288 COMMITTERE: despite the fact that Claudian nowhere else uses this word with the meaning "perpetrate", classical usage shows there is no reason why it should not have this meaning here if the context permits it. In nine of the eleven places where Claudian uses *committere*, it is equivalent to *mandare;* but in these nine places and almost without exception in classical Latin it has a dependent dative when it has this meaning. LABOR . . . AEVI: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11.425: variusque labor mutabilis aevi; Valer. Flacc. 2.619: longus labor abscidit aevi.

289–291: Jocasta, having unwittingly married her son, Oedipus, bore to him Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Ismene. Thyestes married his own daughter and by her became the father of Aegisthus, who may be said to have been the brother of his wife.

294 SCYLLA: she looks with amazement at the dogs that suddenly grow around her waist, at first scarcely believing them to be a part of herself. Cf. Ovid. *Metam.* 13.732: illa feris atram canibus succingitur alvum, virginis ora gerens; 14.59: Scylla . . . sua foedari latrantibus inguina monstris aspicit; Tib. 3.4.89: Scylla virgineam canibus succincta figuram.

hunc solvit fluvio. Numquam spado consul in orbe
nec iudex ductorve fuit. Quodcumque virorum
est decus, eunuchi scelus est. Exempla creantur
quae socci superent risus luctusque cothurni.
  Quam pulcher conspectus erat, cum tenderet artus
exangues onerante toga cinctuque gravatus
indutoque senex obscenior iret in auro:
humani qualis simulator simius oris,
quem puer arridens pretioso stamine Serum
velavit nudasque nates ac terga reliquit,
ludibrium mensis; erecto pectore dives
ambulat et claro sese deformat amictu.
Candida pollutos comitatur curia fasces,
forsitan et dominus. Praebet miracula lictor
consule nobilior libertatemque daturus
quam necdum meruit. Scandit sublime tribunal
atque inter proprias laudes Aegyptia iactat
somnia prostratosque canit se vate tyrannos.
Scilicet in dubio vindex Bellona pependit,
dum spado Tiresias enervatusque Melampus
reptat ab extremo referens oracula Nilo.
  Obstrepuere avium voces, exhorruit annus
nomen, et insanum gemino proclamat ab ore
eunuchumque vetat fastis accedere Ianus.
Sumeret inlicitos etenim si femina fasces,

300–316: a reference to Eutropius' inauguration and to the *actio gratiarum.*

309 DOMINUS: *domini* ε Birt, *dominus* Αω Koch, because the failure of E to correlate with ε looks suspicious. Birt is wary of accepting *dominus*, believing, as does Koch, it would refer to Arcadius. He notes (*Introd.* XLI) that Claudian is usually very non-committal about Arcadius, avoiding an apparently delicate topic. Yet after *forsitan* we expect a parallel for *curia* superior to it in importance, and *dominus* supplies this.

312 AEGYPTIA . . . SOMNIA: in 394, before beginning war upon the rebel Eugenius, Theodosius, apprehensive of failure, sent Eutropius, "one of the palace eunuchs, whom he trusted" (Sozomen. 7.22.7, 8), to Thebaia to consult

But never in the world has an impotent been consul or judge or general! Whatever is in men a distinction in a eunuch is a crime. Examples are furnished that eclipse the jocosities of comedy and the catastrophies of tragedy.

What a fine spectacle he was when he stretched his anemic limbs under the toga's burden, his oppressive robes and gilt trappings rendering the dotard all the more hideous! He was like a monkey aping human features, clothed by a mocking lad in precious silk, but left with its back and buttocks bare to amuse the diners. It walks upright in its costly finery and makes itself grotesque by its gaudy costume. The white-robed senate, perhaps even the emperor, escorts the dishonored fasces. We are confronted with the prodigy of a lictor nobler than the consul and a man ready to bestow freedom he has not yet earned. He ascends the lofty dais and amid praises of himself boasts of dreams in Egypt and of tyrants humbled with himself as the prophet. No doubt avenging Bellona wavered hesitantly until that impotent Tiresias, that emasculated Melampus, crawled back with oracles from the distant Nile.

The screams of birds rang out in protest; the year shuddered at its name; and Janus denounced the folly with twofold mouth and forbade the eunuch access to the calendar. Even if a woman were to assume the fasces illegally, it would be less shameful.

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a certain monk called John, who had a wide-spread reputation as a seer. Victory was prophesied and actually attained. Cf. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chaps. 43, 46 and *In Eut.* 2 *pref.* 39.

315 Tiresias . . . Melampus: as though a pimp could emulate the famous prophet of Thebes or the renowned soothsayer of Messenia. Cf. Lucilius 1026 (Lachm.): quidam perditus Tiresia; Ibid. 174.

317–9: on this passage cf. *Codex Theod.* L. 9 t. 40 and Zosimus 5. 18.1.

318 nomen: as *consul ordinarius*, Eutropius gave his name to the year. Claudian is forever complaining that he might at least have been made *consul suffectus* and spared the year the disgrace of his name.

319 Ianus: appears here as patron of the calendar.

esset turpe minus. Medis levibusque Sabaeis
imperat hic sexus, reginarumque sub armis
barbariae pars magna iacet; gens nulla probatur,
eunuchi sceptra ferat. Tritonia, Phoebe,
Terra, Ceres, Cybele, Iuno, Latona coluntur;
eunuchi quae templa dei, quas vidimus aras?
Inde sacerdotes; haec intrat pectora Phoebus;
inde canunt Delphi; Troianam sola Minervam
virginitas Vestalis adit flammasque tuetur.
Hi nullas meriti vittas semperque profani.
Nascitur ad fructum mulier prolemque futuram;
hoc genus inventum est ut serviat. Herculis arcu
concidit Hippolyte; Danai fugere bipennem,
Penthesilea, tuam; claras Carthaginis arces
creditur et centum portis Babylona superbam
femineus struxisse labor. Quid nobile gessit
eunuchus? quae bella tulit? quas condidit urbes?
Illas praeterea rerum natura creavit;
hos fecere manus; seu prima Semiramis astu
Assyriis mentita virum, ne vocis acutae
mollities levesve genae se prodere possent,
hos sibi coniunxit similes; seu Parthica ferro
luxuries vetuit nasci lanuginis umbram
servatoque diu puerili flore coëgit
arte retardatam Veneri servire iuventam.

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321 LEVIBUS SABAEIS: the Sabaeans, who lived in the south-eastern part of the Arabian peninsula, were known chiefly through rumor rather than direct contact. They had the reputation of being a luxurious, exotic people to whom such epithets as *molles*, *divites*, and *beati* were applied by the Romans. *levibus* refers rather to their superficial manner of life than to their character. They had a rule of succession whereby the first child, male or female, born in a prescribed group of noble families was made their sovereign. Note Curtius Rufus 10.1.37: audieram . . . in Asia olim regnasse feminas, hoc vero novum est regnare castratum.

324–6: cf. Juv. 1.114–6 for similar treatment.

328 TROIANAM . . . MINERVAM: cf. Lucan 1.597: Vestalem chorum ducit vittata sacerdos Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam; 9.993: nullique adspecta virorum Pallas; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.253–4: non equidem vidi, valeant mendacia vatum, te dea; nec fueras adspicienda viro.

330 PROFANI: they stood *pro fano;* i. e., they had no access to the shrine.

The Medes and luxury-loving Sabaeans are ruled by this sex, and much of Barbary lies under the sway of queens. No race finds favor that endures the rule of a eunuch. Tritonia, Phoebe, Terra, Ceres, Cybele, Juno, and Latona are worshipped; what temples, what altars have we seen of a eunuch god? Women provide priestesses; Phoebus enters their hearts; Delphi speaks through them; the Vestal virgins alone have access to Trojan Minerva and keep the fire. Eunuchs have never deserved fillets and are always unholy. Woman is born to bear and perpetuate; this tribe was designed for servitude. Hippolyte fell by the bow of Hercules; the Greeks fled your double ax, Penthesilea; the glorious citadel of Carthage and proud Babylon with its hundred gates are believed to have been reared by a woman's efforts. What noble deed has a eunuch done? What wars fought? what cities founded? Women, moreover, are a creation of nature; eunuchs were made by hand, whether it was Semiramis who first artfully posed as a man for the Assyrians and associated with herself eunuchs as being similar, lest the softness of her high-pitched voice or her smooth cheeks betray her, or whether Parthian luxury banned the shadow of nascent down with the knife and by prolonging the bloom of adolescence compelled youth to serve lust by an artificial check.

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332 HOC GENUS: i. e., eunuchs.

333 HIPPOLYTE: she fell, to be sure, but was a redoubtable opponent even for Hercules

334 PENTHESILEA: even though she was a woman, she put to rout Greek warriors before the walls of Troy.

334–6: Dido founded Carthage, Semiramis Babylon. On Semiramis cf. esp. A. Westermann, Παραδοξογράφοι, *Scriptores Rerum Mirabilium Graeci*, Brunsviga, 1839.

335 PORTIS: can be taken either as an ablative of cause depending on *superbam* or as an ablative of description with *Babylona*.

339 HOS FECERE MANUS: "handmade" or "manufactured" are tempting translations; but the humor is somewhat too light for Book 1. SEMIRAMIS: cf. Ammian. 14.6: Semiramis regina quae teneros mares castravit omnium prima.

340: note Mart. 1.90.8: Mentiturque virum.

342–5: cf. Petron. 119.20–24: Persarum ritu male pubescentibus annis surripuere viros exsectaque viscera ferro in venerem fregere; atque ut fuga nobilis aevi circumscripta mora properantes annos, quaerit se natura nec invenit.

Fama prius falso similis vanoque videri
ficta ioco; levior volitare per oppida rumor
riderique nefas, veluti nigrantibus alis
audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris;
atque aliquis gravior morum: "Si talibus," inquit,
"creditur, et nimiis turgent mendacia monstris,
iam testudo volat; profert iam cornua vultur;
prona petunt retro fluvii iuga; Gadibus ortum
Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum
aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina videbo;
iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane
nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis."
Subicit et mixtis salibus lascivior alter:
"Miraris? Nihil est, quod non in pectore magnum
concipit Eutropius. Semper nova, grandia semper

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347 LEVIOR: i. e., of too light a character to be believed.

349 CORVO . . . LIGUSTRIS: the construction has caused trouble. I regard it as an ablative absolute of attendant circumstance, paralleling the preceding statement. Birt discusses this passage in *Zwei Pol. Sat.*, p. 55.

350: on the use of *atque aliquis* to introduce a speaker cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 4.186; *Fasti* 4.929; Lucan, *Phar.* 2.67; and even the use of καί τις in Nonnus, *Dion.* 36.257; 47.496; *Musaeum* v. 73. SI: has very nearly the force of *siquidem*, "since".

353: note Hor., *Odes* 1.29.11: Quis neget arduis pronos relabi posse rivos montibus? GADIBUS . . . CARMANI: Claudian, with his usual fondness for particularization, specifies Gades in Spain and Carmania on the Persian Gulf instead of saying simply West and East.

356–7 QUIDQUID . . . VELIS: *lydiacis* for *Iudaicis* Grotius, *quod* for *quae*—Jeep, no change necessary—Koch. If *India* is taken as both the subject of *nutrit* and the antecedent of *quae*, the passage makes sense and is not impossibly jumbled. Jeep's emendation contributes but little, since *India* may easily stand for the things that are actually represented. Birt, in his rather full discussion of the passage (*Rhein. Mus.* XLV p. 491), makes the mistake of connecting *inane* too intimately with what precedes and advances proof to show that it refers to zoological freaks. One of the salient characteristics of the Jews was their religious conservatism, and of this conservatism the feature that undoubtedly impressed itself most vividly upon the pagan mind was their reluctance to represent deity in sculpture or in painting. The acme of im-

The report at first seemed false, like something devised as a silly jest. The flimsy rumor flew from town to town, and people laughed at the outrage, as at a story of a swan with black wings or a crow white as a privet; and some one of graver character said:

"If these things are believed and yarns are stuffed with extravagant humbugs, I suppose the turtle flies now, the vulture now sprouts horns, rivers flow back uphill, the sun rises at Gades and sets in Carmania, and I shall now see the ocean suited to crops and dolphins at home in the woods, men in snail shells, and all the idle nonsense that India fosters painted upon the curtains of the Jews."

Another more wantonly retorted with a touch of wit:

"Do you wonder? Eutropius conceives nothing in his heart that is not big. He always esteems novel and impressive things, tasting them one by one with

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probability was the representation upon the curtains of the Jews of the fantastic deities of India, and this provides a fitting climax to Claudian's category of absurdities. These *vela* were probably curtains hanging in temples depicting scenes from religious history.

358–370: the phrase *mixtis salibus* gives ample warning that the ensuing passage will be witty, and a cursory glance reveals that the wit consists in giving to Eutropius a series of fulsome compliments, each of which veils a vicious insinuation about his mode of life. We may assume that in a sally of this character Claudian, with his compact style, will waste no phrases; in other words, every phrase will have a twist. Several of these innuendoes are clearly directed at a type of sexual perversion in which Eutropius played the passive rôle in encounters with men. If we assume that the entire passage refers to this type of perversion, with the successive insinuations merely adding to a coherent picture, we have a lever which permits ready solution of the remaining passages in which the meaning is obscure if each phrase is studied by itself. Birt (*Zwei Pol. Sat.*, p. 45 note), failing to grasp the exact allusion, flounders in his attempt to solve the various phrases individually. Platnauer's translation shows a better understanding of the passage.

360 CONCIPIT: probably does not, as Birt thinks, refer to female conception, but to overdeveloped male genitals, which occupy a prominent place in the mind of a sexual pervert like Eutropius.

diligit et celeri degustat singula sensu.
Nil timet a tergo; vigilantibus undique curis
nocte dieque patet; lenis facilisque moveri
supplicibus mediaque tamen mollissimus ira
nil negat et sese vel non poscentibus offert.
Quidlibet ingenio subigit traditque fruendum;
quidquid amas, dabit illa manus; communiter omni
fungitur officio gaudetque potentia flecti.
Hoc quoque conciliis peperit meritoque laborum,
accipit et trabeas argutae praemia dextrae."

Postquam vera fides facinus vulgavit Eoum
gentibus et Romae iam certius impulit aures,
"Eutropiumne etiam nostra dignabimur ira?
Hic quoque Romani meruit pars esse doloris?"
Sic effata rapit caeli per inania cursum
diva potens unoque Padum translapsa volatu
castra sui rectoris adit. Tum forte decorus
cum Stilichone gener pacem implorantibus ultro
Germanis responsa dabat, legesque Caucis
arduus et flavis signabat iura Suebis.

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364 IRA: the context gives to this the very unusual meaning of "sexual passion" in addition to the usual one of "anger".

366 INGENIO: *ingenuo* V^2 Birt, *ingenio* $V^1\varphi$. Birt, thinking this word depends on *subigit*, substitutes the inferior reading *ingenuo*, approved by Koch. Platnauer changes the *quidlibet* of the excellent A and V^1 to the *quod libet* of φ and places a comma after *ingenio*, which he retains. *quidlibet* should be retained as the preferred reading, while *ingenio* depends upon *subigit* as an ablative of means. Birt misses the meaning of *subigit* and Platnauer's "cultivates" fails to bring it out. It means "to subdue", "to bring under control," and is not uncommonly used of sexual activity. Cf. Suet., *Caes*. 49.4: Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem. Eutropius, with obliging dexterity, subjected any part of his body that was desired to the purposes of sexual play.

367 COMMUNITER: Birt says it is equivalent to "*ad utrumque sexum accomodate*"; but this does not accord with the picture.

368 OFFICIO: here, as often, has force of *libido*. Cf. Passerat. on Petron. 140; Broukh. on Propert. 2.18; Salm. on Plaut., *Cistell*. 4.1.5; Serv. on *Aen*. 4.433; Seneca, *Pref. Excerpt. Controv*. 4.

369 HOC: i. e., the consulship (Platnauer), secured through his lubricious activities.

quick appreciation. He fears nothing from behind; with wakeful regard on every side he invites approach night and day; he is yielding, easily moved by petitions, and very tender even in the heat of passion, says 'no' to nothing, and even offers his services without solicitation. Whatever is pleasing he brings under control by his talent and provides for enjoyment; whatever you like that hand will give. He performs every function affably, and revels in the relaxation of his power. This, too, he won by his congresses and as a reward for his labors, and secures the consular robes as the trophy of his dexterous hand."

When trustworthy report of the outrage of the East was noised abroad and fell on the ears of Rome with more surety, she said:

"Shall I deem Eutropius worthy of even my wrath? Has he also deserved to be a party to Rome's sorrow?"

So speaking, the mighty goddess sped through the voids of the sky and, crossing the Po in one flight, reached the camp of her sovereign. Along with Stilicho his comely son-in-law happened then to be making answer to the Germans' voluntary suit for peace and granting decrees from his lofty tribunal to the Cauci and a constitution to the blond-haired Suebi. To some he

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370 ARGUTAE . . . DEXTRAE: cf. Ennod., *Carm.* 1.2.8: arguto pollice; Verg., *Ecl.* 9.36: arguto . . . pectine; Mart. 7.84.2: arguta picta tabella manu; Sidon., *Ep.* 9.7.5: manus arguta.

372 ROMAE: the goddess. IMPULIT AURES: note Verg., *Aen.* 12.618: impulit aures.

373 ETIAM NOSTRA . . . IRA: Eutropius is so despicable a creature that the goddess wonders whether the disturbance he has caused merits the interference of so great a deity as herself.

376 TRANSLAPSA: very rare in this form, yet note Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.4.16: Fama per immensas aere lapsa vias.

377 CASTRA: probably at Milan.

378 GENER: the rôle played by Honorius, then a listless lad of 15, could not have been very important.

379–395: *Carm. Min.* 46.13 mentions *Rheni triumphos*, which may refer to the bloodless success of these legations from the Suebi, Franks, Sygambrians, Chauci, and other German peoples. There is no record of any military activity in Germany. In the constitution given in 400 (*Cod. Theod.* 7.20.12) it is stated that not only is a legion of Sarmatians (and of Quadi?) but also one of Alamanni to be added.

His tribuit reges, his obside foedera sancit
indicto; bellorum alios transcribit in usus,
militet ut nostris detonsa Sygambria signis.
Laeta subit Romam pietas et gaudia paene
moverunt lacrimas tantoque exultat alumno.
Sic armenta suo iam defensante iuvenco
celsius adsurgunt erectae cornua matri,
sic iam terribilem stabulis dominumque ferarum
crescere miratur genetrix Massyla leonem.
Dimovit nebulam iuvenique apparuit ingens.
Tum sic orsa loqui:
"Quantum te principe possim,
non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Tethys
mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.
Ante pedes humili Franco tristique Suebo
perfruor et nostrum video, Germanice, Rhenum.
Sed quid agam? Discors Oriens felicibus actis
invidet atque alio Phoebi de cardine surgunt
crimina, ne toto conspiret corpore regnum.
Gildonis taceo magna cum laude receptam
perfidiam et fretos Eoo robore Mauros.
Quae suscepta fames, quantum discriminis urbi,
ni tua vel soceri numquam non provida virtus
Australem Arctois pensasset frugibus annum!

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381 REGES: *reges* EV^1 P^1 Birt, *leges* V^2 P^2 φ. *leges*, besides being a pointless repetition, is inferior in ms. authority and sense. *Rex Parthis datus* on a coin of Hadrian and frequent examples in the *Historiae Augustae* support the use of *reges*.

383 DETONSA SYGAMBRIA: they had to cut their hair in order to assume the appearance required of a Roman legionary. Note Sidon., *Carm.* 13.31: detonsus Sigamber; *Ep.* 8. 9.28: tonso occipiti Sicamber.

386 IUVENCO: "heifer" Plat. carelessly.

387 CELSIUS: i. e., in pride.

392 TETHYS: the ocean.

392–393: the Picts, Scots, and Saxons renewed their inroads in Britain when Maximus withdrew in 383. Claudian avers that these ceased when Stilicho began to rule (Birt, *Introd.* XXV). Cf. Keller p. 17. Cf. *Laud. Stil.* 2.250 ff.

395 GERMANICE: so-called as pacifier of Germany. If diplomacy accom-

assigned kings; for others he affixed his seal to a treaty, requiring hostages; others he listed for military service, so that the Sygambrians might cut their hair and serve under our standards. Loyal joy touched Rome; pleasure almost started tears; she gloried in such a foster son. Thus when her bullock defends the herd, the mother lifts her horns higher; thus the African lioness admires her cub that is now growing to be a terror to the stables and a lord of beasts. The goddess dispelled the mist and became visible to the youth, colossal in size, then began to speak thus:

"Not far off are proofs of how much I can do with you as emperor: Tethys is milder now the Saxon is mastered, Britain serene with the Pict crushed. I love to have the humbled Frank and downcast Suebian at my feet, and I see the Rhine my own, Germanicus. But what am I to do? The factious East envies our prosperity, and crimes arise in another quarter of the sky, lest the realm breathe as one body. I make no mention of the perfidy of Gildo, received with great praise, and the Moors relying upon the strength of the East. What a famine, how dire a crisis the city would have suffered had not the ever-provident competence of yourself or your father-in-law compensated for southern produce by provisions from the north! Ships from the Rhone

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plished anything in this direction, it was Stilicho who was responsible, not Honorius.

399–411: Gildo the Moor, distrusting his ability to maintain his tyranny in Africa through continued allegiance to Honorius, addressed himself to Arcadius. The latter was prompted by Eutropius to assert a claim on Africa capable of being maintained neither by logic nor by force. Stilicho took prompt measures to ensure an uninterrupted supply of grain to the city from other sources and opened hostilities. Mascezel, lieutenant of Stilicho, inspired by personal animosity against his rebel brother, headed an expedition that soon crushed the opposition. Gildo, attempting to flee in a small boat, was driven back by an adverse wind into the harbor of Tabraca, where he killed himself in despair. Cf. *Stil.* 1.307 ff.

399 RECEPTAM: *repertam* one ς, *repressam* or *retectam* Heinsius, *redemptam* Birt, *fraude* for *laude* Heinsius. *receptam* needs no emendation, and Platnauer misses its force in translating it "detected". Mere detection of Gildo's perfidy was no cause for great praise. Birt suggests (*Introd.* XLI) that the passage refers to the East's acceptance of Gildo's allegiance. This permits more exact translation of *receptam*, and *magna cum laude* may be taken as referring to the jubilation of the treacherous East upon learning of the acceptance of Gildo's offer.

Invectae Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes
Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis.
Teutonicus vomer Pyrenaeique iuvenci
sudavere mihi; segetes mirantur Hiberas
horrea; nec Libyae senserunt damna rebellis
iam transalpina contenti messe Quirites.
Ille quidem solvit meritas (scit Tabraca) poenas,
ut pereat quicumque tuis conflixerit armis.
"Ecce recens isdem clades a partibus exit
terrorisque minus, sed plus habitura pudoris
Eutropius consul. Pridem tolerare fatemur
hoc genus, Arsacio postquam se regia fastu
sustulit et nostros corrupit Parthia mores.
Praefecti sed adhuc gemmis vestique dabantur
custodes sacroque adhibere silentia somno.
Militia eunuchi numquam progressa cubili,
non vita spondente fidem, sed inertia tutum
mentis pignus erat. Secreta monilia servent,
ornatus curent Tyrios; a fronte recedant
imperii. Tenero tractari pectore nescit
publica maiestas. Numquam vel in aequore puppim
vidimus eunuchi clavo parere magistri;
nos adeo sperni faciles? orbisque carina
vilior? Auroram sane, quae talia ferre
gaudet, et assuetas sceptris muliebribus urbes
possideant. Quid belliferam communibus urunt
Italiam maculis nocituraque probra severis
ammiscent populis? Peregrina piacula forti
pellantur longe Latio nec transeat Alpes
dedecus; in solis, quibus extitit, haereat arvis.

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404 RHODANI: "Rhine" Plat. carelessly.

405 CINYPHIIS: the Cinyps was a river in a fertile region in Africa between the two Syrtes (now Anifo or Wady Khahan).

410: cf. Sil It. 4.645: et meritas mihi perfide poenas exsolves.

411: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2.1.43: Ut pereat.

412 RECENS: *repens* EVC Koch. Influenced by ms. authority, Koch advances evidence of adjectival uses of *repens* to support the use of the word

came sailing through the Tiber's mouth, and the fertile Saône supplied grain instead of the Cinyps. The Teutonic plow and Pyrenaean bullocks have toiled for me; the granaries look with surprise on Iberian grain. Now content with grain from over the Alps, the citizens did not feel the defection of rebellious Africa. Gildo certainly deserved (as Tabraca knows) the penalty he paid, as may all perish who resist your arms.

"But see! There comes from the same quarter a fresh scourge, less alarming, but promising to be more shameful—the consulship of Eutropius. I admit we have long put up with this tribe since the court put on airs with Arsacid arrogance and Parthia corrupted our morals; but until now they were still assigned to the care of gems and clothing and to the maintenance of silence for the sleep of royalty. The eunuch's service never went beyond the bed-chamber; his life gave no assurance of fidelity—mental torpor was a safe guarantee. Let them watch over hidden necklaces and care for Tyrian-dyed garments; let them withdraw from the front of authority. The majesty of state knows nothing of administration by an effeminate heart. Never have we seen even a ship at sea steered by a eunuch captain. Are we so easily scorned? Is the world of less importance than a ship? Let them govern the East, then, since it likes to put up with such experiences, and cities familiar with the rule of women; but why do they brand martial Italy with the general stigma and infect her stern peoples with their noxious infamy? Let this foreign abomination be driven far from sturdy Latium; keep this scandal from crossing the Alps; let it persist solely in the fields where it has existed. Let

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here. It is needless evidence, for *repens* can readily be translated here as an adverb. The point is, however, that Claudian has just been speaking of a *clades* in the East, namely the harboring of Gildo's perfidy. Now he goes on to speak of a "fresh" *clades* from the same region.

418 SILENTIA: *silentarii* subdued the inevitable tumult of a bustling household to render the master's sleep easier. Cf. *Cod. Just. de Silentariis et Decurionibus Eorum* (3.28.30).

419 PROGRESSA CUBILI: cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 8.87: progredi porta.

424 VEL IN AEQUORE: the close association of *vel* with *in aequore* suggests a contrast between the level expanse of the open, calm sea, where even a child could steer, and the hazardous waters that are found near shore and in traffic-crowded harbors. It may be argued against this that the ancients dreaded the open sea and hugged the shore as much as possible in their navigation. On the whole, it seems better to regard the contrast as a general one, a surmise supported by *orbisque carina* in v. 426. The sense is "we have never seen a ship at sea steered by a eunuch, much less the ship of state."

Scribat Halys, scribat famae contemptor Orontes;
per te perque tuos obtestor Roma triumphos,
nesciat hoc Thybris, numquam poscentibus olim
qui dare Dentatis annos Fabiisque solebat.
Martius eunuchi repetet suffragia campus?
Aemilios inter servatoresque Camillos
Eutropius? Iam Chrysogonis tua, Brute, potestas
Narcissisque datur?
"Natos hoc dedere poenae
profuit et misero civem praeponere patri?
Hoc mihi Ianiculo positis Etruria castris
quaesiit et tantum fluvio Porsenna remotus?
Hoc meruit vel ponte Cocles vel Mucius igne?
Visceribus frustra castum Lucretia ferrum
mersit et attonitum tranavit Cloelia Thybrim?
Eutropio fasces adservabantur adempti
Tarquiniis? Quemcumque meae vexere curules,
laxato veniat socium aversatus Averno.

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434 HALYS: rises in central Cappadocia, flowing through Galatia and Paphlagonia to the Euxine Sea. ORONTES: rises in southern Phrygia, flowing north past Epiphania and Antioch into the Mediterranean just north of the 36th parallel.

437 DENTATUS: Manius Curius Dentatus, famous general of the Samnite and Pyrrhic Wars, admired for the simplicity of his manners. FABII: famous patrician gens, almost exterminated in an ambuscade of the Veientes.

438 REPETET: not "witness" as Plat., but "recall", with ellipsis of *memoria.* Cf. Varro, *Ling.* 6. 44).

439 AEMILII: renowned patrician gens. CAMILLI: M. Furius Camillus, called the second Romulus, drove the Gauls from the city.

440: Chrysogonus was a profligate freedman and tool of Sulla.

441: Narcissus was a tool of Claudius, a freedman who acquired immense wealth and influence as his secretary.

441 NATOS: L. Junius Brutus put to death his two sons for military disobedience.

the Halys or the Orontes, heedless of their reputation, make record of it. I, Rome, invoke you and your triumphs; let Tiber know nought of this, Tiber who used to give offices to Dentati and Fabii, though they never asked. Shall the Field of Mars remember the election of a eunuch? Is Eutropius to stand among our saviors, the Aemilii and the Camilli? Is your power, Brutus, now bestowed upon Chrysogoni and Narcissi?

"Is this the reward for surrendering sons to punishment and placing civic duty before a father's grief? Did Etruria have this in mind for me when she pitched her camp on the Janiculum and Porsenna was only a river's breadth away? Did Cocles earn this at the bridge or Mucius with the fire? Was it in vain that Lucretia plunged the steel of chastity in her vitals and Cloelia swam the wondering Tiber? Were the fasces wrenched away from the Tarquins to be saved for Eutropius? Let all who have ridden in my curule chairs be released from yawning Avernus and come to eject this colleague

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443–5: Lars Porsenna, marching on Rome with an Etruscan army, pitched his camp on the Janiculum and would have entered Rome had not Horatius Cocles single handed held the connecting bridge until it was destroyed by two companions. Porsenna then invested the city, which presently began to suffer from famine. The young Q. Mucius Scaevola, resolving to free the city, entered the Etruscan camp at night, intending to kill Porsenna. By mistake he killed the king's secretary, and when he was seized held his right hand in the flame of an altar fire until it was consumed, as proof of his resoluteness. His assertion that three hundred young men, of whom he was the first, had sworn to kill Porsenna, induced him to give up the siege and to make peace.

445 IGNE: only occurrence at end of verse. Homoeoptoton of *ponte* and *igne*. Cf. Birt, *Index* under *ignis*.

446 CASTUM . . . FERRUM: the sword itself was not chaste, but Lucretia used it to atone for the unwilling loss of her chastity.

447 CLOELIA: She and nine other maids were hostages of Porsenna. She led the rest in a swim to safety across the Tiber, only to be returned to Porsenna by the Romans.

450 SOCIUM AVERSATUS: Koch, although troubled, thinks this balances *adservabantur* (v. 448) in a pleasant play on words and notes the assonance of *aversatus Averno*. AVERSATUS: the perfect participle of *aversor* is here used with a purpose idea. Note Ovid, *Fasti* 1.5: aversatus honorem; *Pont.* 2: aversatus amicum.

Impensi sacris Decii prorumpite bustis
Torquatique truces animosaque pauperis umbra
Fabricii tuque o, si forte inferna piorum
iugera et Elysias scindis, Serrane, novales.
Poeno Scipiadae, Poeno praeclare Lutati,
Sicania Marcelle ferox, gens Claudia surgat
et Curii veteres; et qui sub iure negasti
vivere Caesareo, parvo procede sepulcro
Eutropium passure Cato; remeate tenebris,
agmina Brutorum Corvinorumque catervae.
Eunuchi vestros habitus, insignia sumunt
ambigui Romana mares; rapuere tremendas
Hannibali Pyrrhoque togas; flabella perosi
aspirant trabeis; iam non umbracula gestant
virginibus, Latias ausi vibrare secures.
"Linquite femineas infelix turba latebras,
alter quos pepulit sexus nec suscipit alter,
execti Veneris stimulos et vulnere casti:

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451 IMPENSI . . . DECII: P. Decius Mus, father and son, laid down their lives in battle through the ceremony of *devotio*. IMPENSI: i. e., "expended", "devoted" for their country. SACRIS: although the meaning might be "devoted to sacred rites" or "by sacred rites," it seems better to consider it a modifier of *bustis*.

452 TORQUATI: a patrician family that includes many distinguished names, noteworthy for sternness and severity in early Roman history.

453 FABRICII: C. Fabricius, who won Pyrrhus' respect through his sturdy rejection of all his advances and was admired by his countrymen for the simple, unpretentious frugality of his life.

454 SERRANE: C. Atilius Regulus, surnamed Serranus or Saranus from Saranum in Umbria, was summoned from the plow to the consulship. Claudian suggests that in the Elysian fields he has perhaps resumed his pursuit of agriculture.

455 SCIPIADAE: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior crushed Hannibal at Zama in 202. P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor captured and destroyed Carthage in 146. LUTATI: C. Lutatius Catulus in 241 brought the first Punic War to a close by defeating the Carthaginian fleet off the Aegates Islands.

Burst forth from your tombs, self-devoted Decii, fierce Torquati, and high-spirited shade of frugal Fabricius, and you, Serranus, if you happen to be plowing the acres of the blest below, the fallow fields of Elysium. Scipios and Lutatius, whom the Carthaginian made famous, Marcellus, inspirited by your Sicilian triumph, family of the Claudii, arise, and ancient Curii. And you, Cato, who refused to live under the sway of Caesar, emerge from your humble tomb and brook Eutropius. Return from the shades, troops of Bruti and bands of Corvini. Eunuchs are assuming your raiment, males of doubtful sex are donning Roman insignia; they have seized the toga that awed Hannibal and Pyrrhus. Weary of fans, they aspire to consular robes. They no longer carry parasols for maidens; they have dared to brandish the Latin axes.

"Barren mob, leave your womanish lairs, you whom one sex has excluded and the other does not accept, robbed by the knife of the stimuli of love and

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456 MARCELLE: M. Claudius Marcellus captured Syracuse in 212 after a siege of more than two years, despite the ingenious defensive weapons contrived by Archimedes. CLAUDIA: a famous plebeian gens, of which Marcellus was a member. SURGAT: obviously should read *surgas*, as Birt and Koch observe.

457 CURII: M. Dentatus Curius was the most noted member of the family. He defeated the Samnites and Pyrrhus and was celebrated in later times for his virtue and frugality.

458 PARVO . . . SEPULCRO: cf. Varro on Pers. 2.36: tumulo . . . Cato parvo; *Carmen contra Paganos* 111: parvo donatus sepulcro.

460 BRUTORUM: a distinguished family of the *Junia gens*, boasting such famous members as L. Junius Brutus, first consul with Tarquinius Collatinus, D. Junius Brutus, conqueror of the Gallaeci, and M. Junius Brutus, the tyrranicide.

463 FLABELLA: the fan was known and used from comparatively early times. Cf. Ter., *Eun.* 3.5.47: Cape hoc flabellum; ventulum huic sic facito dum lavamus; Mart. 3.82.10: Et aestuanti tenue ventilat frigus supina prasino concubina flabello. Note the peacock fan in v. 109.

464 UMBRACULA: note Ovid, *Fasti* 2.311: aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles; *A. A.* 2.209: ipse tene distenta suis umbracula virgis; Mart. 14.28: accipe quae nimios vincant umbracula soles.

466 INFELIX: the more usual meaning "unfortunate" seems less appropriate here than that of "unfruitful", even though the latter meaning is commonly associated with plants and trees rather than human beings, as in Cic., *Rabir.* 13: arbori infelici suspendito; Verg., *Georg.* 2.239: Tellus frugibus infelix; Pliny, *N.H.* 16.45.1: infelices arbores; Verg., *Aen.* 6.230: felicis olivae.

467: cf. Prudent., *Peristeph.* 10.1073: mas esse cessat ille nec fit femina.

mixta duplex aetas; inter puerumque senemque
nil medium. Falsi, complete sedilia, patres;
ite novi proceres infecundoque senatu
Eutropium stipate ducem; celebrate tribunal
pro thalamis, verso iam discite more curules,
non matrum pilenta sequi.
"Ne prisca revolvam
neu numerem, quantis inuria mille per annos
sit retro ducibus, quanti foedabitur aevi
canities, unam subeant quot saecula culpam:
inter Arinthaei fastos et nomen erile
servus erit dominoque suos aequalis honores
inseret. Heu semper Ptolemaei noxia mundo
mancipia! En alio laedor graviore Pothino
et patior maius Phario scelus. Ille cruorem
consulis unius Pellaeis ensibus hausit;
inquinat hic omnes.
"Si nil privata movebunt,
at tu principibus, vestrae tu prospice causae
regalesque averte notas. Hunc accipit unum
aula magistratum; vobis patribusque recurrit
hic alternus honos. In crimen euntibus annis
parce, quater consul! Contagia fascibus, oro,
defendas ignava tuis neu tradita libris
nomina vestitusque meos, quibus omne, quod ambit
oceanus, domui, tanta caligine mergi
calcarique sinas. Nam quae iam bella geramus

469: cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.774: Et media est aetas inter utrumque (i. e., inter puerum et iuvenem).

470: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.28: Nil medium est.

476 SIT: *fit* Heinsius. RETRO: *vitio* Birt conjectures.

477 SUBEANT: *subeunt* ΠB, subeant V^2. QUOT: *quod* ECA, *tot* Π. Despite the fact that *numerem* (v. 475) looks ahead to an enumeration for which *quot* would be the logical introducing word, the reading *subeunt quod* imposes no impassable difficulty. The translation would be "the fact that generations come under a single charge."

478 INTER: Birt expected *subter*. ARINTHAEI: he held the high position of *magister peditum* and died in 379. Cf. 1.63.

481 POTHINUS: a tool of Ptolemy Dionysius, instrumental in the killing of Pompey at Alexandria in 48 B.C. He was a *mancipium*.

made chaste through surgery: the extremes of age are blended; childhood and senility have nothing midway. Fill your seats, pseudo-fathers; come, new lords, and encompass the leader Eutropius with a sterile senate; throng the dais of judgment instead of bed-chambers; with altered habits learn to escort curule chairs, not the carriages of matrons.

"Not to recount only old-time stories or enumerate the leaders for a thousand years back whom he injures and the hoary age that will be defiled and the many generations that will come under a single obloquy, a slave will have a place in the annals that record the name of his owner, Arinthaeus, and he will include his offices as equal to his master's. Oh, ever are the slaves of the Ptolemies a bane to the world! I am plagued by another worse Pothinus and suffer a wrong greater than that done at Alexandria. Pothinus drained the blood of a single consul at Alexandria with his sword; Eutropius defames them all.

"If injuries to commoners cause no stir, yet look out for the emperors, look out for your own cause, and protect royalty from disgrace. The palace accepts this one magistracy; this office is open alternately to you and to the senators. Spare, four times consul, the years from coming into disgrace! Keep base pollution, I beg, from your fasces, and do not allow the names recorded in your books, nor my robes whereby I have mastered everything which the ocean encircles, to be sunk in such murk and trampled upon. For what wars

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482 PHARIO: cf. 1.218.

483 PELLAEIS: Pella was the birthplace of Alexander in Macedonia.

484 PRIVATA: under the empire *privatus* was commonly used with reference to everyone except the emperor. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 2.1: Perfunctus est tertio consulatu, ut summum fastigium privati hominis impleret, cum Principis noluisset; Suet., *Nero* 21: privatis spectaculis (i. e., given not by the emperor, but by the praetor).

488 ANNIS: the presence of Eutropius' name in the *fasti* will disgrace years to come, the names of which will be recorded there along with his. Cf. *saecula* in v. 477.

491 NOMINA: *nomina* A, *omina* φ Birt. The expression *tradita libris omina* would refer most plausibly to the recording of unusual portents in books. But Claudian's frequent indignation at the disgrace brought upon earlier office-holders by association of Eutropius' name with theirs and the stress which this particular passage puts upon the pollution which threatens the consulship (488: *honos;* 489: *consul;* 489: *fascibus;* 491: *vestitus;* 496: *consule*) strongly suggests that he is referring to the names of previous consuls recorded in the *fasti*. *nomina* therefore seems the preferable reading.

492: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6.267: caligine mersas (Stat., *Theb.* 5.150).

mollibus auspiciis? Quae iam conubia prolem
vel frugem latura seges? Quid fertile terris,
quid plenum sterili possit sub consule nasci?
Eunuchi si iura dabunt legesque tenebunt,
ducant pensa viri mutatoque ordine rerum
vivat Amazonio confusa licentia ritu.
"Quid trahor ulterius? Stilicho, quid vincere differs,
dum certare pudet? Nescis quod turpior hostis
laetitia maiore cadit? Piratica Magnum
erigit, inlustrat servilis laurea Crassum.
Annuis. Agnosco fremitum quo palluit Eurus,
quo Mauri Gildoque ruit. Quid Martia signa
sollicitas? Non est iaculis hastisve petendus;
conscia succumbent audito verbere terga,
ut Scytha post multos rediens exercitus annos
cum sibi servilis pro finibus obvia pubes
iret et arceret dominos tellure reversos,
armatam ostensis aciem fudere flagellis:
notus ab inceptis ignobile reppulit horror
vulgus et addictus sub verbere torpuit ensis."

494: cf. Lucan 10.531: in arma auspiciis Ganymedis eunt.

499 VIVAT: Birt prefers *vincat*, giving no reason. RITU: *sistro* Em ϵ Birt, *ritu* ω Koch, Platnauer. Isidore states that the sistrum was invented by a woman and was used by the Amazons to summon their army to war. The Egyptians are known to have used it in war. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8.696: patrio vocat (Cleopatra) agmina sistro. With *sistro* the meaning is "let licence thrive, confounded by the din of the Amazons' sistrum." Koch, supporting *ritu*, says the sense is "let sterility reign, let marriages cease, let men live as the Amazons lived, i. e., *Amazonio ritu*. On *ritu* as equivalent to *modo* cf. 2.499: pecudum ritu; Stat., *Achill.* 1.352: ferre et Amazonio conubia pellere ritu. Cf. also Birt, *Introd.* CXII.

501 PUDET: *fugis* V^1, *pudet* V^2 corrects. QUOD: there are occasional instances of *quod* with a clause after a verb of knowing in classical Latin instead of an infinitive construction. Cf. Plaut., *Asin.* 1.1.37: equidem scio iam, filius quod amet meus istanc meretricem; Livy 38.49.10: quod . . . circumvenerunt, quod multa milia . . . ceperunt hoc . . . vos scituros . . . non credunt? Note also *Rapt.* 3.223: Nec credit quod bruma rosas innoxia servet.

502 PIRATICA: a qualifying adjective, like *servilis*, modifying *laurea*. The laurel wreath won by subduing the pirates exalted Pompey, that won by defeating the rebellious slaves made Crassus famous.

may we wage now, with a eunuch taking the auspices? What marriage or what crop will bear fruit? What can be fertile on earth, what can be born in abundance under a sterile consul? If eunuchs are to give judgments and maintain the laws, let men spin wool and with the order of things reversed let chaos prevail, jumbled in the Amazonian fashion.

"Why be drawn further? Stilicho, why do you postpone victory, ashamed to fight? Don't you know that the more abject the foe, the greater is the joy at his fall? The pirates brought renown to Pompey; the laurels of the Slave War shed a luster on Crassus. You nod assent. I recognize the blare that made the East blanch and the Moors and Gildo fall. Why do you arouse the standards of Mars? He does not need to be sought with javelins and spears; at the familiar sound of the whip his back will bend, as when the Scythian army, coming back after many years, encountered a force of slaves at the boundary seeking to keep their returning masters from the country, and routed the armed force by a display of whips. The familiar terror repulsed the ignoble pack from its attempt, and the swords of bondsmen faltered beneath the lash's threat."

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504 ANNUIS: *adnuis* V[1], *annuis* V[2] *φ*. Birt retains *adnuis*, obviously corrected by V[2] to *annuis*.

504 EURUS: *emus* (*hb* above *em*) Π, *h* and *b* added by Π[2], *eurus φ*, *Hebrus* a glossator in Π, saying that the Hebrus was a river in Thrace where Stilicho defeated the Getae, citing *In Ruf.* 1.332: Quos tamen ad . . . Hebri tendis aquas. *hebrus* a few *s*. Birt accepts *Hebrus;* but I prefer *Eurus*, which Koch supports in *Philologus*, XLIX, pp. 567 ff., because Stilicho's encounter with the Getae in Thrace was too unimportant to couple with the quelling of Gildo. I think Claudian refers to the alarm occasioned in the East by Stilicho's approach prior to the murder of Rufinus.

505 SIGNA: in military usage a *signum* is a password or phrase, a signal on a trumpet, or a *vexillum*. The first meaning does not fit here; the second is a little odd with *sollicitare* and is usually used with some word or expression referring to the sound made, as in Livy 4.31: signa canunt; while the third makes good sense and is amply supported, e.g., Livy 31.1: cum unius signi militibus; Verg., *Aen.* 11.317: collatis . . . signis; Lucan 1.6: infestis . . . signis; Tac., *His.* 2.29: circumdatum aquilis signisque; Caes., *B.G.* 7.67: signa inferri; 4.26 signa subsequi.

513 ADDICTUS . . . ENSIS: "the sword of a bondsman" finds parallels in such phrases as *vultus captivus* (Stil. 1.213) "the features of a captive"; *cognati gladii* (*Stil.* 1.322) "the swords of relatives;" *famulas catenas* (*Ruf.* 2.386) "the fetters of slaves."

IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS. PRAEFATIO

Qui modo sublimes rerum flectebat habenas
patricius, rursum verbera nota timet
et solitos tardae passurus compedis orbes
in dominos vanas luget abisse minas.
Culmine deiectum vitae Fortuna priori
reddidit insano iam satiata ioco.
Scindere nunc alia meditatur ligna securi
fascibus et tandem vapulat ipse suis.
Ille citas consul poenas se consule solvit;
annus qui trabeas hic dedit exilium.
Infaustum populis in se quoque vertitur omen;
saevit in auctorem prodigiosus honos.
Abluto penitus respirant nomine fasti
maturamque luem sanior aula vomit.
Dissimulant socii coniuratique recedunt;
procumbunt pariter cum duce tota cohors,
non acie victi, non seditione coacti,
nec pereunt ritu quo periere viri.
Concidit exiguae dementia vulnere chartae;
confecit saevum littera Martis opus.

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2 PATRICIUS: not "nobly born", as Platnauer translates it. This is an honorary title. Cf. 1.109.

7 ALIA . . . SECURI: i. e., an ordinary, not a lictor's, ax.

9 CITAS: *inlicitas* V^1 P, *illicitas* V^2 φ, ł *illatas* Π,[2] *sancitas* Heinsius, *illicitus* Barthius, *elicitas* Buecheler, *ille citas* Birt, Koch, Platnauer. The text is quite corrupt here, and Birt's emendation restores some measure of sense. Platnauer retains *ille citas*, but translates "put in motion by him when consul," perhaps implying that Eutropius first resorted to exile as a punishment after he became consul; yet this is untenable, because Eutropius caused the exile of both Abundantius and Timasius before he became consul. Neither can Platnauer regard *se consule* as purely temporal in his version, for exile was certainly not initiated as a punishment in the consulship of Eutropius, but had been in vogue for centuries previous. *Citas* has the usual meaning "swift", "speedy".

11 QUOQUE: rebellious nature, having vented its ire in nearly every other

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

Book 2

PREFACE

That patrician who just now wielded the reins of supreme control again fears the familiar lash and, soon to suffer the customary grip of shackling fetters, deplores the dissipation of his empty threats against his masters. Fortune, now sick of her crazy jest, has thrown him down from his pinnacle and restored him to his former life. He now considers splitting timber with another sort of ax and at last is beaten with his own rods. That consul suffered speedy punishment while he was consul; the year that brought him the consular robes also brought him exile. An omen of ill for the nations turned upon itself as well, and the portentous honor vented its rage upon its incumbent. The annals breathe freely again now that his name is expunged, and the palace is healthier for disgorging a full-grown scourge. His associates disown him, and his accomplices withdraw; along with the leader the whole band fall prostrate, not defeated in battle, not constrained by internal discord; they do not die as men have died. The folly collapsed at the touch of a meagre document; a letter accomplished the savage work of Mars.

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direction, finally turns also upon the responsible person. On this line cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2.190: omen in ipsum convertant.

12 AUCTOREM: i. e., Eutropius.

16 PROCUMBIT: *procumbunt* BA Birt, *procumbit* φ Koch, Platnauer. Koch takes *procumbunt* as the correction of a learned scribe. Birt, although he prints *procumbunt*, demonstrates adequately in his introduction (CCXXIV) Claudian's predilection for the singular number.

17 SEDITIONE: *seditione* ΛCA, *sedicione* φ, *dedicione* Π², *obsidione* ς. Platnauer translates the inferior reading *obsidione*, but prints *seditione*. Cf. Lucan 9.273: non armis, non obsidione subacti.

20 LITTERA: probably Gainas' letter to Arcadius announcing Tarbigilus' terms. Perhaps Arcadius' edict (*Cod.* 9.40.17), although it is doubtful that this would be called *littera*. Keller says a letter from Stilicho was the cause, as does Seeck (*Philologus* LII.455); but this would have had no effect.

Mollis feminea detruditur arce tyrannus
et thalamo pulsus perdidit imperium.
Sic iuvenis nutante fide veterique reducta
paelice defletam linquit amica domum.
Canitiem raram largo iam pulvere turpat
et lacrimis rugas implet anile gemens
suppliciterque pias humilis prostratus ad aras
mitigat iratas voce tremente nurus.
Innumeri glomerantur eri sibi quisque petentes
mancipium solis utile suppliciis.
Quamvis foedus enim mentemque obscenior ore,
ira dabit pretium; poena meretur emi.

Quas, spado, nunc terras aut quem transibis in axem?
Cingeris hinc odiis, inde recessit amor.
Utraque te gemino sub sidere regia damnat
Hesperius numquam, iam nec Eous eris.
Miror cur, aliis qui pandere fata solebas,
ad propriam cladem caeca Sibylla taces.
Iam tibi nulla videt fallax insomnia Nilus
pervigilant vates iam, miserande, tui.
Quid soror? Audebit tecum conscendere puppim
et veniet longum per mare fida comes?
An fortasse toros eunuchi pauperis odit
et te nunc inopem dives amare negat?

25: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.611: Canitiem . . . pulvere turpans (10.844: canitiem multo deformat pulvere).

27: supported by Zosimus 5.18.2. ARAS: refers to Eutropius' seeking sanctuary in the church. Crees says it was not so much his former masters whom he dreaded as the angry soldiers outside.

32 DABIT: mss. vary between *dabat* and *dabit*. Heinsius has *addit*, Koch *facit*, Birt *dabit*. Koch quotes Nonius on Livius Andronic. p. 365, 36 M. to show that *dare* is not used in this way. The meaning is simply that Eutropius' former masters, who have long resented his abuse of power, press about him and bid for the right to own him and vent upon him all the accumulated rancor that has been so long suppressed. Their anger will provide any price necessary to get him; the opportunity of punishing him makes any cost worthwhile.

35 GEMINO SUB SIDERE: *Bell. Gild.* 1.48: *ad solem . . . utrumque* proves that Claudian was familiar with *uterque sol* or *sidus* meaning "both East and

The effeminate tyrant is ejected from his woman's fastness and, expelled from the bed-chamber, has lost his authority. Thus when a young man's loyalty wavers and he takes back an old favorite, his mistress quits the house in tears. With ample dust now he defiles his sparse, grey hair, fills his wrinkles with tears like a querulous old woman, and, prostrated humbly before the holy altars, suppliantly tries to appease the angry women with quavering voice. Countless masters cluster around him, each seeking for himself a slave fit only for punishment. For even though he is disgusting and fouler in mind than in face, anger will provide his price; he is worth buying to punish.

To what lands now, you impotent, to what clime will you cross? Here you are ringed with hate; there affection for you has waned. Both courts condemn you under both skies. You were never of the West, and now you will not be of the East. I wonder why you, who used to disclose their destiny to others, are mute, blind Sibyl, when it is a question of your own ruin. The delusive Nile now sees no visions for you; your prophets are wide awake now, poor wretch. What of your sister? Will she dare to board ship with you and be your faithful companion over the broad sea? Does she, perhaps, dislike the couch of a penniless eunuch and, being rich, say she no longer loves you now that you are poor?

West", i. e., the rising and the setting sun. Cf. Petron. 119.1–2: Orbem iam totum victor Romanus habebat, qua mare, qua terrae, qua sidus currit utrumque. Pliny, *N. H.* 7.212 and 18.210 uses *sidus* of the sun. Claudian so often uses *geminus* as equivalent to *uterque* that the re can be little doubt that this expression does mean "under the rising and under the setting sun".

38 SIBYLLA: he looked like a wrinkled hag. Claudian refers here to his consultation of the Egyptian hermit. Cf. v. 312.

39 NILUS: Egypt; in particular, John, the holy man. *Vates* in the following line refers to him and similar seers. They would have to sleep to see visions.

40 IAM: *nec* Birt, *iam* Koch with best mss.

41 SOROR: Martial, answering one who asks why Themison has no wife, says 12.20: habet sororem. Eutropius' sister serves as his wife. Cf. 2.88.

Eunuchi iugulum primus secuisse fateris.
Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo.
Vive pudor fatis! En quem tremuere tot urbes,
en cuius populi sustinuere iugum!
Direptas quid plangis opes, quas natus habebit?
Non aliter poteras principis esse pater.
Improbe, quid pulsas muliebribus astra querellis,
quod tibi sub Cypri litore parta quies?
Omnia barbarico per te concussa tumultu.
Crede mihi, terra tutius aequor erit.

Iam non Armenios iaculis terrebis et arcu;
per campos volucrem non agitabis equum.
Dilecto caruit Byzantius ore senatus;
curia consiliis aestuat orba tuis.
Emeritam suspende togam, suspende pharetram;
ad Veneris partes ingeniumque redi.
Non bene Gradivo lenonia dextera servit;
suscipiet famulum te Cytherea libens.
Insula laeta choris, blandorum mater amorum;
nulla pudicitiae cura placere potest.
Prospectant Paphiae celsa de rupe puellae
sollicitae, salvam dum ferat unda ratem.
Sed vereor, teneant ne te Tritones in alto
lascivas doctum fallere Nereidas,
aut idem cupiant pelago te mergere venti
Gildonis nuper qui tenuere fugam.
Inclita captivo memoratur Tabraca Mauro;
naufragio Cyprus sit memoranda tuo.

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46 EXEMPLO NON FERIERE TUO: i. e., despite the precedent you have set by your lawless murders, you will not be murdered yourself. The soldiers would certainly have destroyed him, as they had previously destroyed Rufinus, if he had not sought sanctuary in the church.

49–50: Eutropius, created *patricius* by the emperor, thereby became *pater principis*. When he was banished, his "son", Arcadius, confiscated his fortune.

51: cf. Stat., *Silv.* 5.1.22: pulsare querelis caelicolas.

52: confirmed by Zosimus 5.18.3.

You admit that you were the first to slit a eunuch's throat, and yet you will not be struck down by your own precedent. Live to shame the fates! See whom so many cities have dreaded, whose yoke nations have borne! Why do you lament the confiscated fortune your "son" will possess? In no other way could you have been the father of an emperor. Wretch, why do you assault the stars with womanish complaints that a haven is ready for you now on the shore of Cyprus? Thanks to you, everything is disrupted by barbaric disorder. Believe me, the sea will be safer than the land.

No longer will you terrify the Armenians with javelins and bow; no longer will you spur your fleet horse over the plains. The Byzantine senate has lost a cherished face; bereft of your counsels, the assembly is in a ferment. Hang up your toga now its service is done, hang up your quiver; return to the rôle and character of Venus. The hand of a pimp does not serve Mars well. Cytherea will gladly accept you as an attendant slave. The island, mother of the tender loves, is gay with choral dances; no regard for purity can please. Paphian maidens look anxiously off from the lofty headland until the wave shall bring your vessel in to safety. But I fear that the Tritons may delay you on the deep as one adept to beguile the wanton Nereids, or that the very winds which recently stayed Gildo's flight may wish to plunge you in the sea. Tabraca is accounted famous for the capture of the Moor; may Cyprus be remembered for your

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55 ARMENIOS: cf. 1.239ff. On this line cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1.22.2: non . . . iaculis neque arcu.

56: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11.770: agitabat equum.

57 CARUIT . . . ORE SENATUS: as Birt observes, this is an inversion of the usual construction, since *carere* is commonly equivalent to *abesse*. Claudian mockingly suggests that Eutropius is the all-important thing from which the senate is absent.

64: Birt places a colon after *cura*.

67 TENEANT NE TE: cf. Birt, *Zwei Pol. Sat.* p. 57.1.

70 FUGAM GILDONIS: cf. 1.410 on Gildo the Moor.

Vecturum moriens frustra delphina vocabis;
  ad terram solos devehit ille viros.
Quisquis adhuc similes eunuchus tendit in actus,
  respiciens Cyprum desinat esse ferox.

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74 SOLOS . . . VIROS: dolphins carried not only Arion, Palaemon, and Amor to land, but also Thetis, despite Claudian's assertion. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 11.237: frenato delphine sedens, Theti nuda; Val. Fl. 1.130: tergore piscis

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IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS

Mygdonii cineres et si quid restat Eoi,
quod pereat, regni, certe non augure falso
prodigii patuere minae, frustraque peracto
vulnere monstriferi praesagia discitis anni.
Cautior ante tamen violentum navita Corum
prospicit et tumidae subducit vela procellae.
Quid iuvat errorem mersa iam puppe fateri?
Quid lacrimae delicta levant? Stant omina vestri
consulis; inmotis haesere piacula fatis.
Tunc decuit sentire nefas, tunc ire recentes
detersum maculas. Veteri post obruta morbo
corpora Paeonias nequiquam admoveris herbas.

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1 MYGDONII: the Mygdones, a people of Thrace, emigrated to Bithynia, a part of Phrygia, but were later expelled by the natives.

5 CORUM: *Corus* (more commonly *Caurus*) was properly the north-west wind.

5–6: cf. Lucan 6.287: malo nauta tremente . . . omnia subducit vela procellae.

shipwreck. In vain at the point of death will you call upon the dolphin to carry you; it bears none but men to land. Whatever eunuch still inclines to similar conduct, let him cast his eye on Cyprus and cease to be arrogant.

. . . vehitur Thetis; Tib. 1.5.46: vecta est frenato . . . pisce Thetis. On the dolphin cf. esp. H. O. Lenz, *Zöologie der alten Griechen und Römer*, pp. 254–261, and Otto Keller, *Thiere des Classischen Alterthums*, Innsbruck, 1887, pp. 211–235.

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

Book 2

Ashes of Mygdonia and whatever of the Eastern realm is left to perish, surely the threats of the prodigy were exposed with no misleading augury; and now that the damage is done, in vain do you con the premonitions of a year of monsters. Yet the sailor, more wary, discerns in advance the violent North wind and reefs his sails before the swelling blast. What help is it to confess the error when the ship is already sunk? In what do tears palliate neglect of duty? The ill augury of your consul stands; since destiny is immutable, atonement is still required. Then was the time to realize the enormity, then to take steps to wipe off the stains while they were still fresh. To bodies ravaged by chronic disease it is futile to apply Paeonian herbs. When

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6 TUMIDAE: causative; the wind swells the sails. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3.357: tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro; Ov., *Am.* 1.9.13: nec tumidos causabitur Euros.

8 QUID: as in Cic., *Pro Roscio* 145: quid tibi obsto?

12 PAEONIAS: belonging to Paeon, god of medicine.

Ulcera possessis alte suffusa medullis
non leviore manu, ferro sanantur et igni,
ne noceat frustra mox eruptura cicatrix.
Ad vivum penetrant flammae, quo funditus umor
defluat et vacuis corrupto sanguine venis
arescat fons ipse mali; truncatur et artus,
ut liceat reliquis securum degere membris.
At vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam,
Eutropium si Cypros habet, vindictaque mundi
semivir exul erit? Qui vos lustrare valebit
oceanus? Tantum facinus quae diluet aetas?
Induerat necdum trabeas, mugitus ab axe
redditus inferno, rabies arcana cavernas
vibrat et alterno confligunt culmina lapsu.
Bacchatus per operta tremor Chalcedona movit
pronus et in geminas nutavit Bosphorus urbes.
Concurrere freti fauces, radice revulsa
vitant instabilem rursum Symplegada nautae.
Scilicet haec Stygiae praemittunt signa sorores
et sibi iam tradi populos hoc consule gaudent.
Mox oritur diversa lues; hinc Mulciber ignes
sparserat, hinc victa proruperat obice Nereus;

14: cf. Propert. 1.1.27: ferrum saevos patiemur et ignes; Ovid, *Rem.* 229: ferrum patieris et ignes; *Am.* 1.14.25 ferro . . . et igni; Seneca, *Ag.* 152: et ferrum et ignis saepe medicinae loco est.

15: the wound must heal from the bottom out, for the formation of a premature scab only seals the infection in and aggravates the condition. Cf. Ovid, *Rem.* 623: vulnus in antiquum rediit male firma cicatrix; *Pont.* 1.3.16: tempore ducetur longo fortasse cicatrix, horrent admotas vulnera cruda manus; Sen., *Dial.* 9.2.12: mala ulcera eruperunt; Pacatus, *Paneg. Theod.* 3: altorum vulnerum cicatrices postquam cutem sanitate duxerunt . . . tractabo.

19 DEGERE: occasionally is used absolutely as equivalent to *vivere*, as in Hor., *Carm.* 3.29.42: deget; Cels. 2.18: eae (aves) quoque quae in aqua degunt; Pliny, *N. H.* 2.246: circa Tanain Sarmatarum gentes degere.

23: cf. Catullus 88.5: quantum (sceleris) . . . nec genitor nympharum abluit Oceanus.

ulcers have spread and taken deep possession of the marrow, they are not cured by a gentler hand, but by lance and cautery, lest harm result from a futile scab that soon breaks loose. The flame reaches to the quick, in order that the deep lying pus may flow off and by draining the veins of tainted blood the very source of the trouble may dry up. Even limbs are amputated to make it possible for one to live with the remaining members unendangered. Yet do you believe that the palace is admirably cleansed if Cyprus holds Eutropius, and will the exile of an effeminate be the world's revenge? What ocean will have power to purify you? What passage of time will wash away such an atrocity?

Before he had yet assumed the consular robes, a rumbling came from underground; a hidden fury convulsed the caverns; and housetops fell together in successive collapse. Running wild under earth's screen, the tremor shook Chalcedon; and the Bosphorus swayed ominously over both cities. The jaws of the strait clashed together; sailors shunned the Symplegades, torn from their bases and once more afloat. Clearly the Stygian sisters sent these signs as a presage, and rejoiced that the nations were now given over to them under this consul. Soon disaster appeared in many forms. Here Mulciber had scattered his fires; there Nereus had mastered his barrier and broken forth; some

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24–5 AXE . . . INFERNO: Claudian uses *axis* rather freely of a particular region. Cf. *Pan. Prob.* 37: calido . . . in axe; *Eut.* 2 *praef.* 33: quem transibis in axem? Note also Stat., *Theb.* 12.560: dubio caelique Erebique sub axe.

27 CHALCEDON: a city opposite Byzantium on the Bosphorus.

28: the quake produces in the Bosphorus a tidal wave, and this sweeps threateningly toward the cities on either bank, fronted by a huge wall of water that appears almost to lean forward and to be on the point of collapsing. Chalcedon and Byzantium are the two cities specifically referred to here.

30 RURSUM: Platnauer connects this word with *vitant*, rather than with *instabilem*, with which it properly belongs. SYMPLEGADA: two small islands off the mouth of the Bosphorus, the clashing blue rocks of the legend of the Argonauts.

haec flagrant, haec tecta natant. Quam, numina, poenam
servatis sceleri cuius tot cladibus omen
constitit? Incumbas utinam, Neptune, tridenti
pollutumque solum toto cum crimine mergas!
Unam pro mundo Furiis concedimus urbem.
    Utque semel patuit monstris iter, omnia tempus
nacta suum properant: nasci tum decolor imber
infantumque novi vultus et dissona partu
semina; tum lapidum fletus armentaque vulgo
ausa loqui mediisque ferae se credere muris;
tum vates sine more rapi lymphataque passim
pectora terrifici stimulis ignescere Phoebi.
Fac nullos cecinisse deos; adeone retusi
quisquam cordis erit, dubitet qui partibus illis
affore fatalem castrati consulis annum?
Sed quam caecus inest vitiis amor! Omne futurum
despicitur suadentque brevem praesentia fructum
et ruit in vetitum damni secura libido,
dum mora supplicii lucro serumque quod instat
creditur. Haut equidem contra tot signa Camillo
detulerim fasces, nedum (pro sexus!) inerti
mancipio, cui, cuncta licet responsa iuberent
hortantesque licet sponderent prospera divi,
turpe fuit cessisse viros.

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35 NATANT: Claudian may mean that the buildings actually floated away, but probably only that they were inundated. Note Verg., *Georg.* 1.372: omnia plenis rura natant fossis; Ov., *Am.* 2.16.34: amnibus arva natant; Verg., *Aen.* 3.625: sanieque aspersa natarent limina.

36 SCELERI: i. e., creating Eutropius consul (cf. v. 24). *Scelus* is often used in comedy with the meaning "rogue", "rascal", and Platnauer accordingly translates it "scoundrel". The punishment of which Claudian speaks here is, however, intended for the criminal act, not for the criminal.

37: cf. *Dirae* 50–1: Neptunus . . . campos perfundat; 58: Neptunus . . . tridenti.

41 DECOLOR IMBER: cf. 1.4.

44: cf. Lucan 3.331: te credere muris.

buildings were in flames, others afloat. What penalty, divine powers, do you reserve for the crime that was augured by so many disasters? I wish you would ply your trident, Neptune, and submerge the polluted land with all its crime! We yield one city to the Furies in the world's stead.

When once the way lay open for portents, they all found their occasion and hastened to appear. Then rain discolored by blood fell; children of abnormal feature and progeny that differed from their breed were born; statues shed tears; cattle oft dared to speak; and wild beasts ventured within city walls. Then prophets were strangely inspired, and frenzied hearts everywhere were fired by the stings of dread Phoebus. Suppose no gods had augured; will there be anyone of such dull wit as to doubt that the year of a eunuch consul would be deadly for that region? But how blind is the fervor that lies in vice! The whole future is disregarded; the present urges its transient profit, and lust rushes to what is forbidden, careless of injury, and believing delay of punishment gain and what is imminent far off. In the face of so many signs I should certainly not have bestowed the fasces even on a Camillus, to say nothing (oh shame to the sex!) of an impotent slave, to whom it was disgraceful for men to yield, even though every oracle ordered it and the gods urged it and promised prosperity.

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45 SINE MORE: i. e., "without precedent", "exceptionally". Cf. Stat., *Theb.* 1.238: facinus sine more; *ib.*7.135: nullo more; Verg., *Aen.* 7.377: immensam sine more furit; *ib.* 8.635: raptas sine more Sabinas.

47 FAC: occasionally used to introduce a hypothesis, as in Cic., *Tusc.* 1.34.82: fac animos non remanere post mortem; Verg., *Aen.* 4.540: fac velle.

51: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2.9: suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.

52: cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1.3.26: ruit per vetitum nefas; Ovid, *Amor.* 3.4.17: nitimur in vetitum.

57 ORE: may be translated "voice" almost equally well.

58 CESSISSE: Platnauer translates here "the fasces, . . . to yield it to whom", with "it" apparently referring to "fasces". *Cessise* is actually intransitive here, conveying only the idea of submission.

Exquirite retro
crimina continui lectis annalibus aevi,
prisca recensitis evolvite saecula fastis;
quid senis infandi Capreae, quid scaena Neronis
tale ferunt? Spado Romuleo succinctus amictu
sedit in Augustis laribus. Vulgata patebat
aula salutantum studiis; huc plebe senatus
permixta trepidique duces omnisque potestas
confluit. Advolvi genibus, contingere dextram
ambitus et votum deformibus oscula rugis
figere. Praesidium legum genitorque vocatur
principis et famulum dignatur regia patrem.
Posteritas, admitte fidem: monumenta petuntur
dedecoris multisque gemunt incudibus aera
formatura nefas. Haec iudicis, illa togati,
haec nitet armati species; numerosus ubique
fulget eques; praefert eunuchi curia vultus.
Ac veluti caveant ne quo consistere virtus
possit pura loco, cunctas hoc ore laborant
incestare vias. Maneant inmota precamur
certaque perpetui sint argumenta pudoris.
Subter adulantes tituli nimiaeque leguntur
vel maribus laudes: claro quod nobilis ortu
(cum vivant domini), quod maxima proelia solus
impleat (et patitur miles), quod tertius urbis
conditor (hoc Byzas Constantinusque videbunt).

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61 SENIS INFANDI: Claudian refers to the incredible debaucheries ascribed to Tiberius during his residence on Capri. Cf. Tacitus 6.1.2–6; Suet., *Tib.* 60–63. SCAENA NERONIS: Nothing that Nero did discredited him as much as his activities on the stage. Cf. Suet., *Nero* 20, 21, 23.

62 FERUNT: Koch restores *ferat* from C, commenting on Claudian's predilection for the singular number, a tendency confirmed by Birt, *Introd.* CCXXIV. Koch observes that one codex of Pulmann, Plantianum J, has *ferat*, and although the ms. is itself untrustworthy, the coincidence lends support. The emendation is reasonable; but the mss. endorse *ferunt*.

64–77: the extravagant adulation accorded Eutropius testifies alike to his power and to the abject terror which its remorseless wielding inspired.

70–83: like Sejanus, Eutropius had numerous statues of himself erected about the city. Eutropius' ruthless elimination of individuals who stood in

Delve back into the crimes of all time in choice annals; unroll the carefully composed records of bygone ages. What parallel can Capri of the unspeakable dotard, what the stage of Nero, offer? A eunuch, wrapped in the cloak of Romulus, has sat in the house of the Augusti; the cheapened palace lay open to eager visitors; here gathered the senate mingled with commoners, anxious generals, and magistrates of every rank. To grovel at his knees and to touch his hand was their ambition; to plant kisses on his hideous wrinkles was their prayer. Bulwark of the laws, sire of the emperor, he is called; and the court deigns to accept a slave as a father. Posterity, give credence! Monuments of this ignominy are sought, and bronzes to depict the enormity groan on many an anvil. Here he gleams in the rôle of judge, there in the toga, here in armor; everywhere innumerable equestrian statues shimmer; the senate-house flaunts the features of a eunuch. And as though providing that virtue could not remain in any place undefiled, they toil to pollute every street with this face. I only pray that they may remain in position and serve as sure proof of our undying shame. Unctious inscriptions are read beneath and praises excessive even for men: that he is a noble of brilliant origin (although his masters are alive), that by himself he achieves important battles (and the soldiery suffers this), that he is the third founder of the city (Byzas and Constantine will see this). Meanwhile the bloated

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his way long deterred a sullen, rebellious populace; but no sooner had the emperor taken away his power than they rose in frenzy to wipe out every trace of his detested memory. A public proclamation provided for the complete destruction of all these statues "ne tamquam nota nostri seculi obtutus polluat intuentium" (*Cod Theod.* 9.40.17).

71: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8.451: gemit impositis . . . incudibus antrum.

79 SUBTER: i. e., on their bases. On this line note Juv. 1.130: titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches.

82 URBIS: Constantinople. Byzas was the first founder, Constantine the second, and Eutropius the third. Platnauer incorrectly translates *urbis* by "Rome".

83 VIDEBUNT: *videbant* P^1 originally, approved by Buecheler, followed by Koch.

Inter quae tumidus leno producere cenas
in lucem, foetere mero, dispergere plausum
empturas in vulgus opes, totosque theatris
indulgere dies alieni prodigus auri.
At soror et, si quid portentis creditur, uxor
mulcebat matres epulis et more pudicae
coniugis eunuchi celebrabat vota mariti.
Hanc amat, hanc summa de re vel pace vel armis
consulit, huic curas et clausa palatia mandat
ceu stabulum vacuamque domum. Sic magna tueri
regna nihil patiensque iugi deluditur orbis?
Mitior alternum Zephyri iam bruma teporem
senserat et primi laxabant germina flores,
iamque iter in gremio pacis sollemne parabant
ad muros, Ancyra, tuos, auctore repertum
Eutropio, pelagi ne taedia longa subirent,
sed vaga lascivis flueret discursibus aestas;
unde tamen tanta sublimes mole redibant,
ceu vinctos traherent Medos Indumque bibissent.
Ecce autem flavis Gradivus ab usque Gelonis
arva cruentato repetebat Thracia curru;
subsidunt Pangaea rotis altaeque sonoro
stridunt axe nives. Ut vertice constitit Haemi
femineasque togas pressis conspexit habenis,
subrisit crudele pater cristisque micantem
quassavit galeam; tunc implacabile numen
Bellonam adloquitur, quae sanguine sordida vestem

84: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1.5.70: cenam producimus.

85: cf. Martial 1.28: foetere mero.

87 ALIENI . . . AURI: probably Arcadius'.

88 SOROR ET . . . UXOR: cf. 2 *praef.* 41.

95–6: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 2.331: Zephyrique tepentibus auris laxant arva sinus.

97: cf. Ausonius, *Ordo Urb. Nob.* 4.3: pacis . . . in mediae gremio.

98 ANCYRA: a town of Galatia on the route from Byzantium to Tavium and Armenia, as well as to Syria.

pimp prolongs his banquets until dawn, reeks with wine, scatters money to the crowd to buy applause, and spends whole days at the theatres, lavish with another's money. But his sister and (if any stock is taken in portents) wife soothed the ladies with banquets and quite like a virtuous consort was forever boasting of her marriage to a eunuch husband. Her he loves, her he consults about paramount matters, whether in peace or war, to her he confides cares and closed palaces like a stable or empty house. Is the preservation of a great realm thus considered of no importance, and is a world submissive to the yoke thus mocked?

Moderating winter had now begun to feel the returning warmth of Zephyr and the first flowers were opening their buds, and now they were preparing for the annual excursion in the lap of peace to your walls, Ancyra, a journey devised by Eutropius to avoid prolonged ennui of the sea and to make the vagrant summer slip away in gay trips. Yet from here they grandly returned with such a horde that they might have been bringing the Medes in bonds and have drunk from the Indus. But see! Mars, back from the distant blond-haired Gelonians, was once more making for the fields of Thrace in his blood-stained chariot. Pangaea sank beneath his wheels, and the deep snows creaked under the sounding axle. When he halted on Haemus' peak and, drawing taut his reins, viewed the womanish togas, the father smiled a cruel smile and tossed his helm with shimmering crest; then he addressed the ruthless deity Bellona, who, her dress foul with

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99 PELAGI . . . TAEDIA: i. e., lest they become bored with looking at the Bosphorus.

100: cf. Gothofredus on *Cod. Theod.* 9.14.3 (vol. III. p. 98).

101 MOLE: note similar use of the word in Tac., *His.* 3.46: externa moles utrimque ingrueret; *Ann.* 1.60 ne bellum mole una ingrueret; *His.* 1.61 tota mole belli (i. e., the entire fighting force).

105 PANGAEA: a mountain of Thrace on the border of Macedonia, near Philippi. It occurs in both the singular and plural. Cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4.462: altaque Pangaea; Luc. 1.679: Pangaea . . . cana.

Illyricis pingues pectebat stragibus hydros:
"Necdum mollitiae, necdum, germana, mederi
possumus Eoae? Numquam corrupta rigescent
saecula? Cappadocum tepidis Argaeus acervis
aestuat; infelix etiamnum pallet Orontes.
Dum pereunt, meminere mali; si corda parumper
respirare sinas, nullo tot funera sensu
praetereunt; antiqua levis iactura cruoris.
"Aspicis obscenum facinus? Quid crinibus ora
protegis? En quales sese diffudit in actus
parva quies, quantum nocuerunt otia ferri!
Qui caruit bellis, eunucho traditur annus.
Actum de trabeis esset, si partibus una
mens foret Hesperiis; rueret derisa vetustas
nullaque calcati starent vestigia iuris,
ni memor imperii Stilicho morumque priorum
turpe relegasset defenso Thybride nomen
intactamque novo servasset crimine Romam.
Ille dedit portum, quo se pulsata referret
maiestas Latii deformataeque secures;
ille dedit fastos ad quos Oriente relicto
confugeret sparsum maculis servilibus aevum.

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111 HYDROS: the Furies and similar creatures commonly had snakes, and especially water snakes, for hair. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 7.447; Val. Fl. 2.195; Ov., *Metam.* 4.800. The epithet *caeruleus* was often applied to these snakes. Cf. *In Eut.* 2.186; Enn. *Frag.* 28: caerulea incinctae angui; Verg., *Georg.* 4.482: caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues.

112–472: Claudian's poetic review of the war with Tarbigilus is in close agreement with the long description of Zosimus 5.13 ff.

115 AESTUAT: the picture is apparently that of a mountain so covered with the bodies of warriors writhing in the agony of death that its surface seethes with uneasy motion. Claudian by hyperbole emphasizes the recentness of the occurrence. ORONTES: a very high mountain range of Media, forming a detached part of the chain of Zagra. Cf. Ammian. 23.6.28. PALLET: the mountain's snow cap in Claudian's fervid imagination represents its horror at the terrible massacre.

blood, was combing her tresses of water snakes fattened on butchered Illyrians:

"Are we still, my sister, still unable to cure the effeminacy of the East? Will this rotten age never grow firm? Argaeus seethes with warm heaps of Cappadocian dead; unhappy Orontes is still pale. So long as they are dying, they are aware of their misfortune; let their hearts have a brief breathing spell, and all these deaths pass by unheeded: light is a bygone loss of blood.

"Do you see the foul deed? Why do you cover your face with your hair? See what results a little lull has diffused, how much harm a respite from the sword has wrought! A year which has been without wars is assigned to a eunuch. The consulship would be done for, if Hesperia were of one and the same mind; the venerable honor would be laughed to scorn, and no traces of its trampled privileges would survive, if Stilicho, mindful of his authority and of earlier usages, had not defended the Tiber by banishing the foul name and kept Rome safe from an unheard-of crime. He provided a haven to which the battered majesty of Latium and the dishonored fasces might retire; he provided a chronicle in which the East might be disregarded and an age spotted by servile stains might take refuge.

119–122: despite recent bloody disasters, the East falls speedily into its effeminate ways during a brief peace and tempts the fates by electing Eutropius consul.

123 ACTUM . . . ESSET: from the legal expression *res acta est* ("the case is finished") developed the use of *actum est de aliquo* or *aliqua re* ("it is all finished with some one or something") Cf. Plaut., *Trin.* 3.4.194: actum est de collo meo; Livy 1.47 iam de Servio actum. Platnauer mistranslates *actum . . . esset* as a real pluperfect.

131 FASTOS: the consulship of Eutropius was never recognized in the West, the calendar of which records the name of but one consul for the year 399. Cf. the edicts of that year in the *Cod. Theod.* and the *Chronicles* of Prosperus. From this arose the error of Idatius, *Discriptio Consulum:* Manlio et Theodoro v. c.; of Cassiodorus in his *Chronicles:* Mallius et Theodorus; in the paschal tablets (treated by Usenerus, *Mus. Rhen.* 37. p. 479): mallio et theodor.

"Quam similes haec aula viros! Ad moenia visus
dirige. Num saltem tacita formidine mussant?
Num damnant animo? Plaudentem cerne senatum
et Byzantinos proceres Graiosque Quirites.
O patribus plebes, o digni consule patres!
Quid quod et armati cessant et nulla virilis
inter tot gladios sexum reminiscitur ira?
Hucine nostrorum cinctus abiere nepotum?
Sic Bruti despectus honos?
"Ignosce parenti,
Romule, quod serus temeratis fascibus ultor
advenio; iamiam largis haec gaudia faxo
compensent lacrimis. Quid dudum inflare moraris
Tartaream, Bellona, tubam, quid stringere falcem,
qua populos a stripe metis? Molire tumultus,
excute delicias. Thracum Macetumque ruinae
taedet et in gentes iterum saevire sepultas;
damna minus consueta movent. Trans aequora saevas
verte faces; aliis exordia sume rapinis.
Non tibi Riphaeis hostis quaerendus ab oris,
non per Caucasias accito turbine valles
est opus. Ostrogothis colitur mixtisque Gruthungis
Phryx ager; hos parvae poterunt impellere causae

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133 VIROS: read *habet* for *haec* or understand an ellipsis of *habet* as in Lucan 8.543: O superi, Nilusne et barbara Memphis . . . hos animos? Cic., *Philipp.* 2.74: tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Juv. 1.88–9: alea quando hos animos? Sen., *Tro.* 339: hos Scyrus animos?

136 GRAIOS . . . QUIRITES: a distinct sneer at the effeminacy of the Byzantine Greeks who paraded as virile Romans.

141 HONOS: the reference here is probably specifically to the consulship, despite Platnauer.

146: cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* 6.84: pabula falce metit. Note also Verg., *Aen.* 4.513: messae . . . herbae.

147: cf. Tacit., *Hist.* 3.35: sepultae urbis ruinis.

148 IN GENTES . . . SEPULTAS: Platnauer translates "vengeance twice wreaked on races already buried", as though *saevire* were perfect. It is rather the prospect of attacking races too thoroughly crushed by previous assaults to offer resistance that bores the goddess.

"How similar the palace and its men! Direct your gaze toward the city walls. Do they not at least mutter in hushed dread? Do they not condemn at heart? No! Look at the applauding senate and the nobles of Byzantium and the Greekling Romans! A commons worthy of the senate and a senate worthy of the consul! To think that even armed men yield and no virile indignation reminds them of their sex among so many swords! Have my children's official robes come to this? Is Brutus' office thus scorned?

"Forgive your sire, Romulus, because I come a late avenger of the outraged fasces. I shall make them pay at once for these pleasures with generous tears. Why do you so long hesitate to sound the hellish trumpet, Bellona, and to unsheathe the scythe with which you mow peoples down like grain? Stir up disorder, banish pleasures! The destruction of Thrace and Macedonia palls, and fresh violence to buried races; less usual ravages attract. Turn the savage firebrands across the sea, take a fresh start with other spoliations. You do not need to seek a foe from the Riphaean shores; there is no need of brewing a cyclone among the Caucasian gorges. Phrygia's fields are tilled by mingled Ostrogoths and Gruthungians. Trivial causes will be enough to impel these to a criminal act; nature easily reverts

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149 MOVENT: Birt expected *move* here, and Koch and Platnauer adopted this reading, without ms. authority. *Movent* balances *taedet*. The meaning is succintly: "ordinary forms of carnage bore me; unusual ones now stir me".

151 RIPHAEIS . . . AB ORIS: the Riphaean (usually spelled Rhipaean) Mts. were made by poetic tradition the extreme limit to the north. Lucan (3.273) places the sources of the Tanais in this chain. On the sea coast that lay beyond the mountains the Hyperboreans were supposed to dwell. Claudian means merely that trouble need not be sought in a remote and inaccessible place; opportunity is available near home.

153: in 395 Theodosius settled a large number of Ostrogoths and Gruthungians upon farm lands in Phrygia, providing them with grain and cattle and exempting them from tribute for a number of years. Three years of agriculture would suffice to make so warlike a people restless. COLITUR: "tilled" rather than "inhabited". Note the references to agriculture in vv. 194–7, 205–6.

in scelus; ad mores facilis natura reverti.
sic eat; in nostro quando iam milite robur
torpuit et molli didicit parere magistro,
vindicet Arctous violatas advena leges;
barbara Romano succurrant arma pudori."
Sic fatus clipeo, quantum vix ipse deorum
arbiter infesto cum percutit aegida nimbo,
intonuit. Responsat Athos Haemusque remugit;
ingeminat raucum Rhodope concussa fragorem.
Cornua cana gelu mirantibus extulit undis
Hebrus et exanguem glacie timor alligat Histrum.
Tunc adamante gravem nodisque rigentibus hastam,
telum ingens nullique deo iaculabile, torsit.
Fit late ruptis via nubibus. Illa per auras
tot freta, tot montes uno contenta volatu
transilit et Phrygiae mediis affigitur arvis.
Sensit humus. Gemuit Nysaeo palmite felix
Hermus et aurata Pactolus inhorruit urna
totaque summissis fleverunt Dindyma silvis.

155: cf. Juv. 13.239: ad mores natura recurrit.

158 ADVENA: i. e., Tarbigilus. The Goths came originally from the north. Since the army was incapable of avenging the outrage to the consulship, it was necessary for a revolt of barbarian auxiliaries to cause Eutropius' downfall.

160 sq.: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.332: Mavors clipeo intonat.

161: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8.353: Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.

162–3: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 3.45: vox assensu nemorum ingeminata remugit.

162 ATHOS: a lofty mountain at the tip of the peninsula of Acte, projecting from Chalcidice in Macedonia.

163 RHODOPE: the western prolongation of Haemus.

164 CORNUA: horns were commonly an attribute of river gods. On this line cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.487: caput . . . extulit undis; Sil. Ital. 7.254: Ut cum turbatis placidum caput extulit undis; Ovid, *Am.* 2.11.1: mirantibus aequoris undis.

to form. So be it! Since our soldiers' vigor now lies torpid, since they have learned to obey an effeminate master, let a foreigner from the north avenge the broken laws, let barbarian arms come to the rescue of Roman sense of shame."

So speaking, he thundered with his shield, as loud as scarcely the arbiter of the gods himself, when in the menacing storm-cloud he smites his aegis. Athos answers, and Haemus roars a reply; stricken Rhodope repeats the raucous clamor. Hebrus raised from his wondering waters horns white with frost, and terror bound bloodless Ister in grip of ice. Then he hurled his spear, heavy with iron and stiff knotted shaft, a mighty weapon that no other god could wield. A broad passage is cleft through the riven clouds; through the air it leaps, hurled in a single flight over many seas and mountains, and imbeds itself in the heart of Phrygia's fields. The earth felt the shock; Hermus, blessed with the vine of Bacchus, groaned; Pactolus of the golden urn shuddered; and all Dindyma wept with drooping groves.

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165 EXANGUEM: i. e., the river grew pale frem the ice and snow on its surface. Cf. the similar hyperbole in *pallet Orontes* v. 115. On this line cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 293: nautis tremor alligat artus.

166 ADAMANTE: often used of very hard iron, as in Verg., *Aen.* 6.552; Prop. 4.11.4; Ov., *Metam.* 4.453; Claud., *Bell. Gild.* 202.

167: the *fetialis* hurled a blood-stained spear into the enemy's territory as a declaration of war in earlier Roman times. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.207–8.

169 CONTENTA: from *contendo*, not *contineo*. For similar use of *contendo* with weapons cf. Verg., *Aen.* 5.520: aerias telum contendit in auras; 10.521: infensam contenderat hastam; 12.815: tela . . . contenderet.

171 NYSAEO . . . PALMITE: i. e., the vine that is sacred to Bacchus, who was born in Nysa.

172 URNA: properly a vessel of burnt clay, here probably (as in *Pan. Prob.* 213; Verg., *Aen.* 7.792; Sil. Ital. 1.406) an attribute of the river god.

173 DINDYMA: a mountain in Mysia near Pessinus, sacred to Cybele.

Nec dea praemissae stridorem segnius hastae
consequitur, centumque vias meditata nocendi
tandem Tarbigilum (Geticae dux improbus alae
hic erat) aggreditur. Viso tum forte redibat
Eutropio vacuus donis, feritasque dolore
creverat et, teneris etiam quae crimina suadet
ingeniis, Scythicum pectus flammabat egestas.
Huic sese vultu simulatae coniugis offert
mentitoque ferox incedit barbara gressu,
carbaseos induta sinus; post terga reductas
uberibus propior mordebat fibula vestes
inque orbem tereti mitra redeunte capillum
strinxerat et virides flavescere iusserat angues.
Advolat ac niveis reducem complectitur ulnis
infunditque animo furiale per oscula virus.
Principe quam largo veniat, quas inde reportet
divitias, astu rabiem motura requirit.
Ille iter ingratum, vanos deflere labores,
quos super eunuchi fastus, quae probra tulisset.
Continuo secat ungue genas et tempore pandit
arrepto gemitus:
"I nunc, devotus aratris
scinde solum positoque tuos mucrone sodales

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175 VIAS: equivalent to *modos*, as often. Cf. *Anthol. Lat.* 4.52 (R): mille nocendi vias (from *Aen.* 7.338).

176 TARBIGILUM: apparently belonged to the nation of the Gruthungians. The exact form of his name is uncertain. Zosimus calls him Τριβίγιλδος. His revolt occurred in 399. Cf. 274 ff. and introd. IMPROBUS: the fact that Tarbigilus is reproached (vv. 204–5) for his unprofitable integrity shows that the usual meaning "rascally" or "wicked" is inappropiate here. *Feritas* (v. 178) suggests the actual meaning. ALAE: adopted by Rubenius solely for the sense, approved by Koch, and retained by Birt. Note *exiguam manum* in *In Eut.* 2.221 and the fact that Tarbigilus is called captain Πολυανθρώπου ταγμάτου by Socrates 8.4. The regular reading *aula* seems inappropiate to the military term *dux* and suggests an imperial establishment such as was specifically denied this Getic horde when it was settled in Phrygia three years previously. An army of 40,000 Goths was organized at the time and dis-

Close upon the whir of the darting spear followed with no less speed the goddess, and pondering a hundred ways of harming, at last she approached Tarbigilus (he was the savage leader of a Getic squadron). He chanced then to be returning empty-handed from an audience with Eutropius; his ferocity was aggravated by vexation, and need, which urges even mild natures to crime, was inflaming his Scythian heart. Assuming the appearance of his wife, she meets him, walking with counterfeit step like a proud barbarian. She was dressed in linen garments; rather close to her bosom a brooch clasped her dress, which was drawn together behind her back; she had bound her hair into a coil with a nicely fashioned turban confining it, and had bidden her green snakes turn golden. She flew to meet him as he returned and, twining her snow-white arms about him, instilled with her kisses a maddening virus in his soul. She asked how generous was the prince he came from, what riches he brought back from him, adroitly aiming to arouse his ire. He tearfully told of the thankless journey and futile toils, and the insolence and affronts of the eunuch he had suffered in addition. At once she scratched her cheeks with her nails and seized the occasion to utter her plaints.

"Go, then, be a slave to the plow, and furrow the ground; teach your followers to lay aside the sword and sweat at rakes!

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tinguished by special privileges, and Tarbigilus was possibly commander of a section of this army, although the general context implies a loose band of followers. *Geticae* appears to be equivalent to *Gruthungae* (cf. v. 196).

184: note Verg., *Aen.* 12.274: fibula mordet.

185 REDEUNTE: Birt adopts *retinente* with only ε as authority. Koch says *redeunte* is doubtless correct by sense and ms. authority. The *mitra* comes back around the head to complete a circle. Cf. Verg., *Georg.* 2.401: redit agricolis labor actus in orbem. On this line cf. also Ovid, *Her.* 9.63: mitra redimire capillos; Verg., *Aen.* 9.616: habent redimicula mitrae.

186 VIRIDES . . . ANGUES: cf. v. 111 note.

193: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11.459: arrepto tempore. Note also Stat., *Ach.* 1.317.

ad rastros sudare doce. Bene rura Gruthungus
excolet et certo disponet sidere vites.
Felices aliae, quas debellata maritis
oppida, quas magnis quaesitae viribus ornant
exuviae, quibus Argivae pulchraeque ministrant
Thessalides, famulas et quae meruere Lacaenas.
Me nimium timido, nimium iunxere remisso
fata viro, totum qui degener exuit Histrum,
qui refugit patriae ritus, quem detinet aequi
gloria concessoque cupit vixisse colonus
quam dominus rapto. Quid pulchra vocabula pigris
praetentas vitiis? Probitatis inertia nomen,
iustitiae formido subit. Tolerabis iniquam
pauperiem cum tela geras? Et flebis inultus
cum pateant tantae nullis custodibus urbes?
"Quippe metus poenae. Pridem mos ille vigebat,
ut meritos colerent impacatisque rebelles
urgerent odiis; at nunc, qui foedera rumpit,
ditatur; qui servat, eget. Vastator Achivae
gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
praesidet Illyrico; iam quos obsedit amicos
ingreditur muros illis responsa daturus,
quorum coniugibus potitur natosque peremit.
Sic hostes punire solent, haec praemia solvunt

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197 CERTO . . . SIDERE: the position of the constellations determined the proper time for various agricultural operations.

204 QUEM: good usage would require this to be the object of *cupit* as well as of *detinet*, since no shift of subject is indicated; but the use of *colonus* and *dominus* in the nominative indicates that *qui* should be supplied as the subject, with which they are in apposition.

205 CUPIT: the use of *quam* after *cupit* with ellipsis of *potius* is paralleled by the use of *quam* alone with other verbs of desiring in which a comparative is implied. Cf., e. g., Livy 3.68: malae rei se quam nullius . . . duces esse volunt; *Anthol. Lat.* 1.628 (Burm.): optas admissarius esse, quam patronus?

214–218: The troops of Alaric poured without resistance through the pass of Thermopylae into Greece, swarmed over the unresisting cities of the peninsula, and put up a spirited opposition to the forces of Stilicho, summoned

The Gruthungian will do well at tilling the fields and setting out the vines at the proper season. Happy are other women, whom towns conquered by their husbands enrich, and spoils won by great effort, whom lovely maids of Argos and Thessaly serve, and who have got Spartan handmaids! Me the fates have yoked with too timid, too negligent a husband, an effete who has wholly thrown off the ways of the Ister, who abandons the practices of his country, whom the glamor of equity restrains, and who desires to live as a farmer by permission rather than as a lord by loot. Why do you apply fair names to lazy vices? Sloth takes on the name of probity; timidity, of justice. Will you put up with undeserved poverty when you bear weapons? Will you weep unavenged when such great cities lie exposed with none on guard?

"I suppose you are afraid of punishment. The practice once prevailed of encouraging the deserving and of hounding insurgents with uncompromising hate; but now he who breaks treaties is enriched, and he who keeps them is poor. The despoiler of the Achaean nation and recent ravager of unavenged Epirus presides over Illyria; now he approaches as friends those whose walls he has besieged, intending to administer justice to men whose wives he possesses and whose children he has destroyed. Thus do they punish foes, such rewards do they

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rom the West to expel the barbarians whom he had been denied permission to block. Stilicho was compelled to withdraw in consequence of a secret treaty which Alaric negotiated with the government at Constantinople, and the ravages of the Goth were stopped by making him governor of Illyricum, to the disgust of Roman provincials and allies. On the devastation of Epirus cf. Zosimus 5.7.4. On the concession of Illyricum cf. *Bell. Poll.* 535; some obscure comments of Sozom. 8.25; 9.4; Olympiodor. in *Phot. Cod.* 80; Zosim. 5.26. Cf. also Volz p. 22 note; Keller p.35. Claudian (*Bell. Poll.* 536) says he was made *dux.* Since the *Cod. Theod.* (16.8.12; 11.14.3; 4.11.8; 6.28.6) shows that Anatolius was *praefectus praetorio* in 397, 398, and 399, he must have been made *magister militum.* Cf. Birt, *Introd.* XXXI note 2; Güeldenpenning p. 54.

excidiis. Cunctaris adhuc numerumque tuorum
respicis exiguamque manum? Tu rumpe quietem;
bella dabunt socios. Nec te tam prona monerem,
si contra paterere viros; nunc alter in armis
sexus et eunuchis se defensoribus orbis
credidit; hos aquilae Romanaque signa sequuntur.
Incipe barbaricae tandem te reddere vitae,
te quoque iam timeant admirenturque nocentem,
quem sprevere pium. Spoliis praedaque repletus
cum libeat Romanus eris."
Sic fata repente
in diram se vertit avem rostroque recurvo
turpis et infernis tenebris obscurior alas
auspicium veteri sedit ferale sepulcro.
Ille, pavor postquam resoluto corde quievit
et rigidae sedere comae, non distulit atrox
iussa deae; sociis quae viderit ordine pandit
irritatque sequi. Coniurat barbara pubes
nacta ducem Latiisque palam descivit ab armis.
Pars Phrygiae, Scythicis quaecumque Trionibus alget
proxima, Bithynos, solem quae condit, Ionas,
quae levat, attingit Galatas. Utrimque propinqui
finibus obliquis Lydi Pisidaeque feroces

222: compare the thought in Livy 29.30.5: ratus agendo ac moliendo vires quoque ad agendum aliquid conlecturum.

228 PIUM: Tarbigilus had adhered to the terms of the agreement by which Theodosius had settled his people in Phrygia.

231 INFERNIS: *infernis* A *infernas* φ. Koch, supporting *infernis*, says he does not understand how the wings themselves can be called *infernae* and *tenebris* requires an epithet. Postgate says: "If the *-īs* of the excellent A is not a mere assimilation to the following ablative, it can be used to provide us with an epithet for *alas* which the balance of the sentence shows us it ought to have. Accusatives in *-īs* are not uncommon in Claudian, and an original *informis* would be readily corrupted to *infernis*. The *informesque plagas* of *Rapt.* 1.101 shows this epithet is suitable to the lower world, with which Bellona is here connected, whatever reading we adopt."

233 RESOLUTO: i. e., his heart was "loosed" from its usual steady beat and thrown into wild agitation. Platnauer's translation suggests that his heart

give for massacres! Do you still hesitate and reflect on the meagre number of your followers? Break the peace; war will provide allies! I should not advise you so readily, if you were confronting men; the other sex is now in arms; the world has entrusted itself to the defence of eunuchs; it is these that the eagles and standards of Rome follow. Begin at last your return to barbarian life; let them now fear you as well and respect the havoc of one whose fidelity they scorned. Sated with spoils and booty, you will be a Roman when you wish."

Having spoken thus, she suddenly changed into an ominous bird, ugly, with a hooked beak and plumage blacker than the shades of hell, and perched on an old tomb, an augury of death.

He, as soon as panic subsided in his palsied heart and his stiffened hair settled in place, relentlessly carried out the orders of the goddess. He disclosed in detail to his confederates what he had seen and spurred them to follow. Barbarian soldiery, gaining a leader, organized and openly revolted from the Latin arms.

The portion of Phrygia which feels the cold from lying nearest the Scythian Wain borders on Bithynia; that which hides the setting sun, on Ionia; that which upheaves the rising sun, on Galatia. On two sides lie the neighboring Lydians with curving boundary, while the savage Pisidians live along the

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was "freed" from terror; but *resolvo* u ually has the force of "unnerve" or "enervate" when applied to the body. Cf. Col., *praef.* 17: corpora iuvenum; Ovid, *Met.* 7.328: corpus somno resolutum; Curt. 6.8.21: fatigatione resolutus. Note especially membra . . . solvit formidine torpor from Verg., *Aen.* 12.687, from the heart of a passage which Claudian has obviously imitated here.

235 VIDERIT: *viderat* Koch because of V C. Note Verg., *Aen.* 3.179: ordine pando.

237 LATIIS: used broadly as equivalent to *Romanis.* Cf. *Nupt. Hon. et Mar.* 232 and often in Claudian. His usage is much freer than the classical.

238 SCYTHICIS . . . TRIONIBUS: i. e., Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Since the abode of the Scythians was in the north of Europe and Asia, the people and the constellation are associated.

241 OBLIQUIS: i. e., *non rectis.* The boundary of Lydia extended east from the Mediterranean to Mt. Synaus and tended from there generally south.

continuant australe latus. Gens una fuere
tot quondam populi, priscum cognomen et unum
appellata Phryges; sed (quid non longa valebit
permutare dies?) dicti post Maeona regem
Maeones. Aegaeos insedit Graecia portus;
Thyni Thraces arant, quae nunc Bithynia fertur;
nuper ab Oceano Gallorum exercitus ingens
illis ante vagus tandem regionibus haesit
gaesaque deposuit, Graio iam mitis amictu,
pro Rheno poturus Halyn. Dat cuncta vetustas
principium Phrygibus; nec rex Aegyptius ultra
restitit, humani postquam puer uberis expers
in Phrygiam primum laxavit murmura vocem.
Hic cecidit Lyciis iactata paludibus olim
tibia, foedatam cum reddidit umbra Minervam,

244: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3.415: longinqua valet mutare vetustas.

245 MAEONA: there appears to be no other reference to this king Maeon, either in Claudian or elsewhere.

248–251: cf. Crees 61 note: Sievers thinks Claudian is referring to the Hunnish invasions which Alaric led across the Danube in winter, and Güeldenpenning concedes the possibility. The fact that they settled down after their invasion and that Alaric probably stayed in Illyricum to maintain his governorship conflict with this theory, since vv. 214–216 indicate that Alaric obtained his prefecture a year and a half earlier. The incursions may have been more or less continuous, and may have represented further advances of Alaric's restless following without his leadership.

252–254: cf. Herodotus 2.2. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, wishing to ascertain which was the most ancient nation, segregated two infants. The first word uttered was *becos*, the Phrygian word for bread, and Phrygia was accordingly conceded primacy.

255 LYCIIS: *lybicis* VPCΠ, *libicis* BA, *liciis* old Cuiac., *Libycis* Birt, Koch, Plat. According to Hyginus, *Fab.* 163, Minerva made the first flute from a stag's bone and played it at a banquet of the gods. Being ridiculed because of her grotesque expression, she went off to the woods of Mt. Ida in Phrygia. Here she saw her face in a spring as she played and was so disgusted with her facial contortions that she threw the flute away, pronouncing a curse on anyone who should pick it up. The satyr Marsyas found it and after assiduous practice had the audacity to challenge Apollo to a musical contest. The

southern flank. These many peoples were once a single race, anciently called by the one name Phrygians. But (what will the passage of time not have power to change?) after king Maeon they were called Maeonians. Greeks settled the Aegaean harbors, and Thynians from Thrace tilled what is now called Bithynia. Recently a vast army of Gauls from the Ocean, previously nomadic, came to rest at last in that region and laid down their spears, now civilized in the garb of Greece, to drink of the Halys instead of the Rhine. All antiquity concedes primacy to the Phrygians, and Egypt's king did not any longer dispute it, after the babe that knew no human breast uttered a Phrygian word as his first prattle.

Here fell the pipe once tossed in the marshes of the Lycus, when Minerva's reflection revealed her contorted face. Here,

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decision at first went to Marsyas; but Apollo reversed his lyre, and it played as sweetly as before. He was declared victor and tied Marsyas to a tree, delivering him over to a Scythian to be flayed. Marsyas' skin was exhibited at Celaenae within historical times (Herod. 1.26), and it is more than possible that the people of Celaenae in Claudian's time were still displaying what they claimed to be the original skin.

It is hardly possible to interpret *Libycis iactata paludibus* as "played in the Libyan swamps" by extension of the meaning "brandish" for *iactare*. There is no example of *iactare* being used in that way nor any mention of Minerva having tried out the flute in Africa previous to her première before the gods. The flute was certainly not tossed in, from, or by the Libyan swamps, and the only possible connection that *Libycis . . . paludibus* can have with Minerva is her association with the *Lacus Tritonis*, which plays no part in this story in any known version. Platnauer's translation "Lycian" not only fails to fit his text, but is of itself wrong, since the passage deals with Phrygia, and Claudian has excluded Lycia from the boundaries of Phrygia. Propertius (3.22.17) says it was into the Maeander that Minerva threw the flute. In Greater Phrygia, at no great distance from Celaenae, lies the river Lycus, a tributary of the Maeander, mentioned by Ovid (*Metam.* 15.273). Claudian's reference obviously must be to this river, and the true reading has been preserved in an old Cuiac. ms., altered in the standard mss. because of the rareness of the name. On this myth cf. esp. Frazer on Ovid, *Fasti* 6.699.

hic et Apollinea victus testudine pastor
suspensa memores inlustrat pelle Celaenas.
Quattuor hinc magnis procedunt fontibus amnes
auriferi; nec miror aquas radiare metallo,
quae totiens lavere Midan. Diversus ad Austrum
cursus et Arctoum fluviis mare. Dindyma fundunt
Sangarium, vitrei puro qui gurgite Galli
auctus Amazonii defertur ad ostia Ponti.
Icarium pelagus Mycalaeaque litora iuncti
Marsya Maeanderque petunt; sed Marsya velox,
dum suus est, flexuque carens iam flumine mixtus
mollitur, Maeandre, tuo contraria passus
quam Rhodano stimulatus Arar. Quos inter aprica
planities Cererique favet densisque ligatur
vitibus et glaucae fructus attollit olivae,
dives equis, felix pecori pretiosaque picto
marmore purpureis, caedit quod Synnada, venis.
Talem tum Phrygiam Geticis populatibus uri
permisere dei. Securas barbarus urbes
inrupit facilesque capi. Spes nulla salutis,
nulla fugae; putribus iam propugnacula saxis
longo corruerant aevo pacisque senecta.
Interea gelidae secretis rupibus Idae
dum sedet et thiasos spectat de more Cybebe
Curetumque alacres ad tympana suscitat enses,
aurea sanctarum decus inmortale comarum
defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus
vertice crinalis violatur pulvere murus.
Obstipuere truces omen Corybantes et uno
fixa metu tacitas presserunt orgia buxos.
Indoluit genetrix, tum sic commota profatur:

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264 Amazonii . . . Ponti: the Black Sea, so-called from the fact that the Amazons dwelt on the river Thermodon in Asia Minor, and this river flows into the Black Sea. *Ad ostia* is only relative, since the mouth of the Sangarius is some distance east of the entrance of the Bosphorus.

273: Synnada: the celebrated Synnadic marble was quarried near Synnada, a town in Phrygia Major. It was light in color and interspersed with

too, the shepherd defeated by Apollo's lyre sheds a lustre on long-remembering Celaenae with his suspended skin. Here four auriferous rivers emerge from generous sources; I do not wonder the metal glimmers in waters where Midas so often bathed. They diverge and flow to the southern and northern seas. Dindyma gives rise to the Sangarius, which, swollen by the pure flood of the crystal Gallus, sweeps toward the mouth of the Amazonian Sea. The united Marsyas and Maeander make for the Icarian Sea and the shore of Mycale; but the Marsyas, swift and uncurving while it is its own master, is moderated by mingling with your stream, Maeander, unlike the Saône, which is accelerated by the Rhône. Between these lies a sunny region, gracious to grain, thick-set with vines, producing the fruit of the grey-green olive, rich in horses, prolific of flocks, and valuable for its marble streaked with purple veins, which Synnada quarries.

Such was Phrygia when the gods allowed it to be ravaged by Getic looters. The barbarian broke into carefree cities that were easily taken. There was no hope of safety, none of flight. The crumbling stones of the defenses had already collapsed from long lapse of time and an old age of peace.

As Cybele meanwhile was sitting among the sequestered crags of chill Ida, watching as usual the dances and inspiring the ardent swords of the Curetes by the thunder of the drums, the eternal glory of her holy locks, the golden turreted crown, slipped from her head, and rolling from her brow, the mural hair-dress was defiled by dust. The fierce Corybantes were struck to silence by the omen, and in common alarm they stopped the revels and silenced the pipes. The divine mother grieved, then thus gave voice to her dismay:

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purple spots and veins. Cf. Stat., *Silv.* 2.228: Synnada . . . ubi marmore picto . . . purpureo distinguitur area gyro. In classical times Synnada was a neuter plural.

276: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9.131 (10.121): nec spes ulla fugae; Lucan 10.538: via nulla salutis, non fuga.

279 SECRETIS: Platnauer mistranslates here "hallowed", apparently reading *sacratis*, although none of the mss. has this variant reading. He prints *secretis*.

"Hoc mihi iam pridem Lachesis grandaeva canebat
augurium; Phrygiae casus venisse supremos
delapsus testatur apex. Heu sanguine qualis
ibit Sangarius quantasque cadavera lenti
Maeandri passura moras! Inmobilis haeret
terminus, haec dudum nato placuere Tonanti.
Par et finitimis luctus frustraque Lyaei
non defensuros implorat Lydia thrysos.
Iamque vale Phrygiae tellus perituraque flammis
moenia, conspicuas quae nunc attollitis arces,
mox campi nudumque solum! Dilecta valete
flumina! Non vestris ultra bacchabor in antris
nec iuga sulcabit noster Berecynthia currus."
Dixit et ad tristes convertit tympana planctus.
Labentem patriam sacris ululatibus Attis
personat et lacrimis torvi maduere leones.
Eutropius, nequeat quamvis metuenda taceri
clades et trepidus vulgaverit omnia rumor,
ignorare tamen fingit regnique ruinas
dissimulat: parvam latronum errare catervam,
ad sontes tormenta magis quam tela parari
nec duce frangendas iactat, sed iudice vires;
vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales
cum premitur calidas cursu transmittit harenas
inque modum veli sinuatis flamine pennis
pulverulenta volat; si iam vestigia retro
clara sonent, oblita fugae stat lumine clauso,
ridendum, revoluta caput creditque latere

292: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4.614: sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret; 7.250: immobilis haeret; Lucan 1.596: terminus haerens.

296 TRITONIA: Lake Triton in Africa gave to Minerva the epithet of *Tritonia*. Leo addresses her with seeming naturalness as patroness of warriors; in reality he invokes her from force of habit as patroness of weavers.

303 LACRIMIS TORVI: transposed by Koch with C as guide, because of fondness of Claudian for placing an adjective before a penthemimeris, if a substantive is set at the end. TORVI: Platnauer "tawny" as though text had *fulvi*.

"Long ago aged Lachesis used to warn me of this portent. The fallen crown denotes that Phrygia's final crisis has come. How bloody will Sangarius flow, how slowly the corpses will move in sluggish Maeander! The end is immutably fixed; this was long ago the pleasure of my son, the Thunderer. Equal mourning awaits their neighbors, and in vain does Lydia invoke the thyrsi of Bacchus, for they will give no aid. Farewell, now, land of Phrygia, and cities that the flames will destroy, now uplifting far-seen citadels, but soon to be plains and naked earth! Farewell, beloved rivers! No more shall I revel in your grottoes, no more will my chariot rut the ridges of Berecynthus!"

So she spoke and turned the drums to mournful throbbing. The holy plaints of Attys rang through his perishing country, and the grim lions were wet with tears.

Eutropius, although the dreadful disaster could not be kept secret and panicky rumor had divulged everything, still affected ignorance and disregarded the collapse of the realm: a petty band of brigands was on the move, he boasted; racks, not weapons, were being prepared for the guilty wretches; their strength should be broken by a judge, not by a general. Just so the huge Libyan bird, when hard pressed by the cries of hunters, scurries over the hot sands and in dusty flight curves its wings like sails in the breeze; if now footsteps sound clearly behind, forgetful of flight, it stands with closed eyes, a laughable sight, rolling its head back and believing that it is out of sight of him

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310 LIBYAE . . . ALES: the context shows that the reference is to the ostrich, which was especially associated with Africa. Cf. Pliny 10.1.1: struthocameli Africi vel Aethiopicο. Cf. also Lenz, pp. 363–6.

315 REVOLUTA CAPUT: the story of the ostrich's stupid trick of hiding its head and thinking itself concealed seems to have been current among the ancients. It was, apparently, based not upon fact, but upon the ostrich's instinctive move to conceal its head, the most conspicuous part of its body. Cf. Pliny 10.1.2: cum colla frutice occultaverint, latere sese existumantium. LATERE: *latere* is transitive here, as the context clearly shows. For similar use cf. Plin., *N. H.* 2.18.1; Verg., *Aen.* 1.134; Ovid, *Pont.* 4.9.126; Just. 13.8.

quem non ipsa videt. Furtim tamen ardua mittit
cum donis promissa novis, si forte rogatus
desinat. Ille semel nota dulcedine praedae
se famulo servire negat, nec grata timentum
munera; militiam nullam nec prima superbus
cingula dignari; nam quis non consule tali
vilis honos?
Postquam precibus mitescere nullis,
non auro cessisse videt creberque recurrit
nuntius incassum nec spes iam foederis extat,
tandem consilium belli confessus agendi
ad sua tecta vocat. Iuvenes venere protervi
lascivique senes, quibus est insignis edendi
gloria corruptasque dapes variasse decorum,
qui ventrem invitant pretio traduntque palato
sidereas Iunonis aves et si qua loquendi
gnara coloratis viridis defertur ab Indis,
quaesitos trans regna cibos, quorumque profundam
ingluviem non Aegaeus, non alta Propontis,
non freta longinquis Maeotia piscibus explent.
Vestis odoratae studium; laus maxima risum
per vanos movisse sales, minimeque viriles
munditiae; compti vultus onerique vel ipsa
serica. Si Chunus feriat, si Sarmata portas,
solliciti scaenae; Romam contemnere sueti
mirarique suas quas Bosphorus adluit aedes;

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321 CINGULA: i. e., military service, as often in late Latin. Cf. Serv., *Aen.* 8.724. *cingi* frequently "to serve" in the Digest.

325 CONSILIUM: not infrequently means specifically "a council of war". Cf. Val. Max. 3.7.6: eo in consilium adhibito; Dares 22: in consilium convocat; Livy 44.37.13: vocare ad consilium.

330 IUNONIS AVES: the peacock. Cf. Juv. 7.32: Iunonis avem; Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.55: ales Iunonia. LOQUENDI GNARA: the parrot. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.1: psittacus Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis; Verg., *Georg.* 4.293: coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.

332: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 3.430: hic piscibus atram improbus ingluviem . . . explet. Cf. Juv. 4.141 sq.

whom it does not itself see. Yet Eutropius furtively sends lofty promises with fresh gifts, hoping his petition may bring a reprieve. But the foe, having once known the sweetness of plunder, refuses to serve as a slave and finds no pleasure in the gifts of the timorous; haughtily he scorns military command even of the first rank, for what office under such a consul would not be vile?

When Eutropius saw that no prayers would soften him and that he was uninfluenced by gold, and when many an ineffectual messenger returned and there was no longer hope of an agreement, at last he avowedly summoned a council of war to his residence. Impudent youths and wanton dotards came, whose chief distinction is gluttony, whose notion of propriety consists in varying their dietary debaucheries, who stimulate their appetite with costly fare and confide to their gullets the starry fowl of Juno and the speaking bird of verdant hue brought from the land of the swarthy Indians, food sought across empires. Their abysmal voracity not the Aegaean Sea nor the deep Propontis nor the narrows of Maeotis can satisfy with fish from far away. They are fond of perfumed garments; their greatest pride is the provocation of laughter by inane jests, and a most unmasculine elegance. Their features are groomed and even the silk is a burden. If Hun or Sarmatian should assault the gates, they are anxious for the theatre. They habitually

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334 FRETA . . . MAEOTIA: probably refers to the straits at the entrance of Lake Maeotis, which lay on the northern side of the Black Sea.

337 MUNDITIAE: Birt connects *minimeque viriles* with *sales* as a second modifier because of the *-que*. Koch, probably correctly, makes it depend on *munditiae*, commenting on the obviously good sense.

340 ADLUIT: *horruit* V^1, *orruit* P^2, *oruit* P^1, *obruit* V^2 φ, *obruit edes* in erasure Π, *obstruit* Π,[1] *abluit* Isengr. mg., *obluit*, *alluit* ς, *obruat* Birt, pointlessly referring to the earthquake of v. 28. *adluit* is an easier reading than *obruat* (approved by Koch and Plat.) and has as much ms. justification. Cf. Pruden., *Peristeph Hymn*. 1.117: colonos quos Hiberus alluit; Plin. 6.4: flumen quo adluit u oppidum. The fops disparage Rome for its inland situation and boast of th fresh breezes from the nearby Bosphorus that play about their own residence

saltandi dociles aurigarumque periti.
Pars humili de plebe duces. Pars compede suras
cruraque signati nigro liventia ferro
iura regunt, facies quamvis inscripta repugnet
seque suo prodat titulo. Sed prima potestas
Eutropium praefert Hosio subnixa secundo.
Dulcior hic sane cunctis prudensque movendi
iuris et admoto qui temperet omnia fumo,
fervidus, accensam sed qui bene decoquat iram.
Considunt apices gemini dicionis Eoae,
hic cocus, hic leno, defossi verbere terga,
servitio, non arte pares, hic saepius emptus,
alter ad Hispanos nutritus verna Penates.
Ergo ubi collecti proceres, qui rebus in artis
consulerent tantisque darent solacia morbis,
obliti subito Phrygiae bellisque relictis
ad solitos coepere iocos et iurgia circi
tendere. Nequiquam magna confligitur ira
quis melius vibrata puer vertigine molli
membra rotet, verrat quis marmora crine supino,
quis magis enodes laterum detorqueat artus,
quis voci digitos, oculos quis moribus aptet.

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341 SALTANDI: Claudian evinces a disdain for dancing that had persisted among some from the time of Cicero. Cf. Cic., *Mur*. 6.13: Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. AURIGARUMQUE PERITI: Platnauer concedes these rakes too much in calling them "clever charioteers". Their prowess probably did not exceed apt appraisal of the charioteers' skill, for betting purposes.

347–349: Hosius, a Spaniard by birth, had once been a slave and a cook. He became *magister officiorum* at the court of Arcadius, about 396–8. Claudian, as in the jester's ironic tribute to Eutropius (1.359–370), disguises his insinuations with specious compliments. Nearly every epithet of praise contains a hidden reference to Hosius' former vocation. Platnauer misses several of these word plays in his translation, e. g., *dulcior* "more popular", *decoquat* "render down", *accensam* "aroused". It might be observed, apropos of Platnauer's translation, that Hosius would have found it difficult "to steam his cases" *admoto fumo*.

348 IURIS: concerning Hosius' judicial activities as *magister officiorum* cf. *Zwei Pol. Sat.* pp. 75 and 126.

scorn Rome and admire only their own dwellings, which the Bosphorus washes. They are facile dancers and connoisseurs of charioteers.

Some from the lowly plebs are generals; some, their ankles marked with shackles and their shanks livid from the black iron, administer the law, however incompatible the branded brow that betrays them by their proper name. But his prime authority exalts Eutropius, supported by Hosius, his second, who is certainly more tender to everyone and prudent in his exercise of justice, a man who knows how to smoke every issue, fiery, but well able to digest his ire when it is heated. There sat the eminences of the Eastern realm, two of a kind, one a cook and one a pimp, their backs furrowed by the lash, equals in being slaves if not in their mode of life, one sold more often and the other a home-bred slave reared in a Spanish house.

Accordingly, when the lords were gathered to consult in this emergency and to assuage these great ills, quickly forgetting Phrygia and shelving the war, they began to turn to their usual jests and squabbles about the circus. They futilely debated with great passion what lad could whirl his quivering limbs better in a soft somersault, or brush the pavement with drooping hair as he leaned back, or more distort his jointless limbs, or adapt his gestures to his voice or his eyes to his rôle. Some recited tragic

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349: cf. Cat. 68.139: concoquit iram (Lachm.).

350 APICES: *apex* is occasionally used of the pinnacle of power or authority, rarely of a person at the peak of power, as here. Yet note Optatus 15.19: ipsi apices et principes omnium.

351 DEFOSSI: *defessi* one s, Scaliger, Birt, *defossi* V[1] φ but *o* V[2]. Koch: "Trumpius properly defends *defossi*, for those men who serve as leaders cannot be said to have backs that are tired by the lash, but rather bear the marks of the lash on their backs". Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9.544: transfossi ligno.

354: cf. Sil. Ital. 5.477: in artis nimirum rebus.

358: cf. Terence, *Eun.* 626: miles tendere inde ad iurgium.

360 VERRAT . . . SUPINO: a favorite feat today. The acrobat stands with wide-braced feet and leans backward until his hair sweeps the floor.

361: probably a contortionist. ARTUS: *arcus* s and Platnauer.

363–4: Tereus and Agave were favorite topics for tragedy.

Hi tragicos meminere modos; his fabula Tereus,
his necdum commissa choro cantatur Agaue.
Increpat Eutropius: non haec spectacula tempus
poscere; nunc alias armorum incumbere curas;
se satis Armenio fessum pro limite cingi
nec tantis unum subsistere posse periclis;
ignoscant senio, iuvenes ad proelia mittant.
Qualis pauperibus nutrix invisa puellis
adsidet et tela communem quaerere victum
rauca monet; festis illae lusisse diebus
orant et positis aequaevas visere pensis,
iratae que operi iam lasso pollice fila
turbant et teneros detergent stamine fletus.
Emicat extemplo cunctis trepidantibus audax
crassa mole Leo, quem vix Cyclopia solum
aequatura fames, quem non ieiuna Celaeno
vinceret; hinc nomen fertur meruisse Leonis.
Acer in absentes linguae iactator, abundans
corporis exiguusque animi, doctissimus artis
quondam lanificae, moderator pectinis unci.

365: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6.37: non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.

367–9: Platnauer, failing to connect *satis* with *fessum*, so translates v. 367 as to leave it with no logical connection with v. 368, to say nothing of v. 369. The sense is that Eutropius, trying to avoid personal leadership of a dangerous campaign, declares that he is too old and tired to assume sole responsibility and suggests sending some younger person instead. Vv. 367–8 are actually equivalent to a causal clause.

372–3 LUSISSE . . . ORANT: the infinitive with *oro* is rare and mostly a late Latin usage, but note Verg., *Ecl.* 2.43: Iampridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat; *Aen.* 6.313: stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum. In Augustan poetry and in Livy the perfect infinitive is freely used where a present would be anticipated. In older Latin this perfect was found only in a sentence of prohibition depending upon *volo* or *nolo*, from which the use extended to more general expressions of desire. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 14.571: vicisse petunt; *A. A.* 3.525: vetat . . . sumere nec . . . pertimuisse; Just. 5.4.15: posuisse cupiunt; Enn. ap. Cic. *Off.* 2.23: quem quisque odit, periisse expetit. There are even instances like this of a present and a perfect infinitive

verses; others chanted the play "Tereus", others "Agave", not yet assigned to a chorus.

Eutropius rebuked them: the occasion did not call for such scenes; other, military cares were now urgent; he was almost too weary to gird himself in defense of the Armenian frontier and was not himself equal to such great dangers. They should make allowance for his age, they should send young men to war. He was like a hateful nurse supervising some poor girls, hoarsely warning them to seek their livelihood in common by the loom. They beg for a chance to make merry on the holiday, to lay aside their tasks and visit girls of their age, and fuming at their work, now with weary thumb they disorder the threads and wipe away their gentle tears with the cloth.

Suddenly, while they all cowered, up sprang bold Leo of ponderous frame, who alone was almost a match for the hunger of a Cyclops, whom Celaeno even fasting could not have beaten. From this he is said to have won the name of Leo. A sharp tongue-lasher of the absent, bulky of body but small of spirit, a one-time master of the weaver's trade, a wielder of the curved comb. No other could wash out the dirt and arrange

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depending on the same verb, as in Tib. 1.1.45: quam iuvat inmites ventos audire cubantem et dominam tenero detinuisse sinu.

376–389: Claudian's characterization of Leo is confirmed by Zosimus 5.14.3 and 5.16.10. Leo had neither military experience nor courage and was prominent only because he found favor with Eutropius. He was sent against Tarbigilus because he was a hard drinker; he was easily deceived (Suidas: Λέων (4) in *Glossary*). His fortitude consisted in having more mistresses than soldiers and in a greater capacity for liquor than the rest (Claver.). On his relationship with Eutropius cf. Eunap. *Frag.* 76. Cf. also the introd.

377: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.161: ingenti mole Latinus.

377–8 Cyclopia . . . fames: Ulysses learned something of the dreadful voracity of the Cyclopes when he and his followers fell into the hands of Polyphemus.

378 Celaeno: leader of the Harpies.

382–5: cf. Hieron., *Epist.* 130.15: habeto lanam semper in manibus vel staminis pollice fila deducito.

Non alius lanam purgatis sordibus aeque
praebuerit calathis, similis nec pinguia quisquam
vellera per tenues ferri producere rimas.
Tunc Aiax erat Eutropii lateque fremebat,
non septem vasto quatiens umbone iuvencos,
sed, quam perpetuis dapibus pigroque sedili
inter anus interque colos oneraverat, alvum.
Adsurgit tandem vocemque expromit anhelam:
"Quis novus hic torpor, socii? Quonam usque sedemus
femineis clausi thalamis patimurque periclum
gliscere desidia? Graviorum turba malorum
texitur, ignavis trahimus dum tempora votis.
Me petit hic sudor. Numquam mea dextera segnis
ad ferrum. Faveat tantum Tritonia coeptis
inceptum peragetur opus. Iam cuncta furorem
qui gravat, efficiam leviorem pondere lanae;
Tarbigilum timidum desertoresque Gruthungos
ut miseras populabor oves et pace relata
pristina restituam Phrygias ad stamina matres."
His dictis iterum sedit; fit plausus et ingens
concilii clamor, qualis resonantibus olim
exoritur caveis, quotiens crinitus ephebus
aut rigidam Nioben aut flentem Troada fingit.
Protinus excitis iter inremeabile signis
arripit infaustoque iubet bubone moveri
agmina Mygdonias mox impletura volucres.

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386 AIAX: Leo was a comic counterpart of Ajax, as Eutropius was of Agamemnon. On *Aiax* . . . *Adsurgit* (v. 390) cf. Juv. 7.115: surgis tu pallidus Aiax.

391: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.867: novus . . . torpor.

396 FERRUM: Leo's language constantly suggests his earlier profession of wool-comber; e. g., *ferrum* can refer equally well to an iron weapon or an iron comb.

397 FUROREM: *furore* Birt, *pavore* Heinsius, *furorem* EC, but -*m* apparently added by C[1]. Koch accepts *furorem* on the ground that the error of omitting the -*m* could more easily have arisen than that of adding it. The passage is

the wool in baskets so well, none draw the dense wool as well as he through the close teeth of the iron comb. He was then Eutropius' Ajax and widely roared, not flaunting a vast seven-ply oxhide shield, but that which he had loaded with continual banquets while he sat at ease among the old crones and the distaffs—his belly. Up he heaved at length and brought forth this breathless sentiment:

"What unheard-of torpor is this, my friends? How long do we sit shut in women's chambers and by sloth permit the danger to augment? A host of more serious troubles is taking form, while we waste time in craven prayers. This sweaty task calls for me. Never is my right hand slow to take the steel. Let only Tritonia favor the undertaking and the work will be completed. The fury that is now pressing everything I will render lighter than a lump of wool; I will massacre the timid Tarbigilus and the runaway Gruthungians like poor sheep, and restoring peace, I will bring the Phrygian women back to their traditional spinning."

With these words he sat down again. There was applause and a great outcry from the council, such as sometimes arises from the echoing tiers when a long-haired lad portrays Niobe turned to stone, or Hecuba in tears. Then Leo set in motion his standards and started on his irretraceable journey, and to the ominous hoot of an owl ordered the advance of columns that were soon to feed the birds of Mygdonia.

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thereby made more coherent, *Tarbigilum* and *Gruthungos* being properly closely associated.

399 TIMIDUM: *tumidum* Π² V³, Birt, *timidum* Π¹ V¹ φ. Koch accepts *timidum* because of the agreement of almost all mss., observing that it serves as a most suitable epithet in view of the *oves* that follows and the bragging character of Leo.

406–461: confirmed by Zosimus 5.17.2.

407 INFAUSTO . . . BUBONE: cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 4.462: bubo si cuius aedes insederit et vocem miserit, mortem significare dicitur.

Pulcher et urbanae cupiens exercitus umbrae,
adsiduus ludis, avidus splendere lavacris,
nec soles imbresve pati multumque priori
dispar, sub clipeo Thracum qui ferre pruinas,
dum Stilicho regeret, nudoque hiemare sub axe
sueverat et duris haurire bipennibus Hebrum.
Cum duce mutatae vires. Byzantia robur
fregit luxuries Ancyranique triumphi.
Non peditem praecedit eques; non commoda castris
eligitur regio; vicibus custodia nullis
advigilat vallo; non explorantur eundae
vitandaeque viae; nullo se cornua flectunt
ordine; confusi passim per opaca vagantur
lustra, per ignotas angusto tramite valles.
Sic vacui rectoris equi, sic orba magistro
fertur in abruptum casu, non sidere, puppis;
sic ruit in rupes amisso pisce sodali
belua, sulcandas qui praevius edocet undas
inmensumque pecus parvae moderamine caudae
temperat et tanto coniungit foedera monstro;
Illa natat rationis inops et caeca profundi;
iam brevibus deprensa vadis ignara reverti
palpitat et vanos scopulis inlidit hiatus.

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409 URBANAE . . . UMBRAE: provided by numerous porticoes and basilicas.

413 REGERET: the subjunctive is used here either because it is felt to be in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse or because it is here used in narrative to express subordination as in Livy 1.40.7: Dum . . . rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit. NUDOQUE . . . SUB AXE: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2.512: nudoque sub . . . axe.

416 ANCYRANIQUE TRIUMPHI: Eutropius' pleasure journeys to and from Ancyra, journeys which resembled triumphal processions.

424: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.687: fertur in abruptum.

426 BELUA: while the term *belua* denoted any large animal such as the elephant, it was applied particularly to the whale. Cf. *Gloss.* V.442.58: belbae bestiae sed proprie marinae. When the creature indicated was associated with the sea, as here, it almost invariably was the whale. Cf. Fest. p. 30: ballenam beluam marinam ipsam dicunt esse pistricem, ipsam esse et cetum. While the *musculus* that guided the whale was certainly not a sea mouse, as

It was a pretty army, fond of the city's shade, always present at the games, eager to shine at the baths and to avoid the sun and rain, in great contrast to the earlier army which was inured, while Stilicho commanded, to endure under arms the Thracian frosts, to winter under the bare sky, and to drink of Hebrus cleft with hard axes. Along with their leader their strength was changed. The luxury of Byzantium and Ancyra's triumphs broke their vigor. No cavalry preceded the infantry; no locality suitable for a camp was picked; sentries did not keep watch in turn on the rampart; the routes to take and to avoid were not explored; the wings wheeled in disorder; in confused disarray they roamed through shady forests, through unknown valleys by narrow paths. So behaves a horse without a rider; so a ship bereft of its pilot is borne to disaster by chance, not by the stars. Thus a sea monster rushes on the reefs when it has lost the companion fish which goes before and shows the navigable waters, directing the huge beast by the motion of its little tail, having an alliance with the great monster. It swims at random, blind to the depth; now caught in the shallow shoals and not knowing how to return, it quivers and uselessly smashes its gaping jaws on the rocks.

Platnauer says, we cannot safely identify it as any other particular fish. Pliny (*N. H.* 11.165) defines it as *musculus marinus*, *qui ballaenam antecedit*, and Sidonius (*Epist.* 5.13.1) refers to *musculis . . . ballaenarum corpulentiam praegubernantibus*. From the fact that Pliny (32. 144) suggests that the *musculus* is a large animal and yet in 9.186 mentions it as swimming before and indicating shallows that may be awkward for the whale's vast bulk, we may conclude that either the term is misused in one place or was used of two different creatures. The story was probably not so much based upon fact as upon observation of fish scurrying before the whale as it plowed through the water in quest of food. Cf. Lenz pp. 252–4.

428: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12.822: foedera iungent.

429 CAECA PROFUNDI: the genitive with *caecus* is very rare, the dative and the instrumental ablative being more regularly used. Yet note Tert., *Anim.* 10: culices . . . ne in tenebris quidem aurium (venarum Reiff.) caeci. In *caeca futuri* 2.545 Claudian again uses this unusual construction.

430: cf. Ausonius, *Mosell.* 139: aut brevibus deprensa vadis.

431: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 3.261: scopulis illisa.

Tarbigilus simulare fugam flatusque Leonis
spe nutrire leves improvisusque repente,
dum gravibus marcent epulis hostique catenas
inter vina crepant, largo sopita Lyaeo
castra subit. Pereunt alii dum membra cubili
tarda levant; alii leto iunxere soporem;
ast alios vicina palus sine more ruentes
excipit et cumulis inmanibus aggerat undas.
Ipse Leo damma cervoque fugacior ibat
sudanti tremebundus equo; qui pondere postquam
decidit, implicitus limo cunctantia pronus
per vada reptabat. Caeno subnixa tenaci
mergitur et pingui suspirat corpore moles,
more suis, dapibus quae iam devota futuris
turpe gemit, quotiens Hosius mucrone corusco
armatur cingitque sinus secumque volutat,
quas figat verubus, quae frusta calenti
mandet aquae quantoque cutem distendat echino.
Flagrat opus; crebro pulsatus perstrepit ictu;
contexit varius penetrans Chalcedona nidor.
Ecce levis frondes a terro concutit aura;
credit tela Leo. Valuit pro vulnere terror
implevitque vicem iaculi vitamque nocentem
integer et sola formidine saucius efflat.

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434 CATENAS: they boastfully brandished chains which they intended soon to use as bonds for the defeated enemy.

435: cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1.18.5: quis post vina militiam . . . crepat.

441–2: the punctuation of Platnauer's text and the sense of the passage require the subject of the *qui* clause and of *reptabat* to be identical. If Platnauer wishes to translate the *qui* clause "and it falling under his weight" (referring to the horse), he should logically continue with the statement that the horse "on all fours fought his way through the clinging mire."

444 PINGUI . . . CORPORE: apparently a loose characterizing epithet depending upon *moles*.

445: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1.712: pesti devota futurae; 1.210: dapibusque futuris.

447: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2.333: mucrone corusco.

450 FLAGRAT OPUS: cf. Verg., AEN. 4.407: fervet opus. PULSATUS: Baehrens (*P. Lat. Min.* V p. 120 1.169) suggests that this be taken as a substantive,

Tarbigilus feigned flight and fed the flimsy pretensions of Leo on hope, then suddenly and unexpectedly, while they were languid from heavy eating and rattling chains for the enemy in the midst of their tippling, he burst into a camp stupefied by heavy drinking. Some perished as they were raising their sluggish limbs from the couch; others knew no break between sleep and death; still others a neighboring swamp engulfed as they fled in disorder, and heaped the waters with huge mounds. Leo himself on his sweating horse fled in panic, swifter than a doe or stag, and when he pitched off because of his weight, entangled in the muck, he crawled on his belly over the impeding mud flats. Resting on the sticky mud, the mass of his fat body was drawn down panting, like a sow, which, destined now for the coming feast, squeals shamefully whenever Hosius picks up his gleaming knife, belts up his garment, and considers what parts he will fix on spits, what bits he will consign to boiling water, and with how much sea-urchin he will stuff the skin. The work speeds on; struck with many a blow, the victim makes a great din; a varied, penetrating odor pervades Chalcedon.

See! a light breeze rustles the foliage at his back; Leo thinks it is a weapon. Terror was as effectual as a wound and played the part of a javelin. Unscathed and injured only by dread, he

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and Platnauer believes the passage otherwise untranslatable. *pulso cos . . . icta* Barthius; *pulsatus aper strepit* Buecheler; *cultri sus* or *pulpae ius* Birt; *pulsatur Bosporus ictu* Platnauer, looking for a parallel to *Chalcedona* and thinking that *perstrepit* is a gloss on *pulsatur* that eventually displaced *Bosporus*. Accepting the regular reading *pulsatus*, we may observe that by its ending it refers to the *sus* of v. 445. The sense seems to be that the pig, which the first blow fails to kill, makes a frightful din; it is, nevertheless, sacrificed, and the odor of the burnt flesh, mingled with other odors that attend the sacrifice, drifts into Chalcedon. The somewhat unnatural brevity is in keeping with Claudian's style and is rather closely paralleled in Verg., *Georg*. 4.169: fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella, where a pithy mention of intense activity is abruptly followed by a reference to the odor produced by that activity. Note also Stat., *Silv*. 1.1.65: strepit ardua pulsu machina.

452: compare with Stat., *Theb*. 6.155–9.

454: cf. Tac ,*Ann*. 4.8: meamque vicem explete.

Quis tibi tractandos pro pectine, degener, enses,
quis solio campum praeponere suasit avito?
Quam bene texentum laudabas carmina tutus
et matutinis pellebas frigora mensis!
Hic, miserande, iaces; hic, dum tua vellera vitas,
tandem fila tibi neverunt ultima Parcae.
Iam vaga pallentem densis terroribus aulam
fama quatit; stratas acies, deleta canebat
agmina, Maeonios foedari caedibus agros,
Pamphylos Pisadasque rapi. Metuendus ab omni
Tarbigilus regione tonat; modo tendere cursum
in Galatas, modo Bithynis incumbere fertur.
Sunt qui per Cilicas rupto descendere Tauro;
sunt qui correptis ratibus terraque marique
adventare ferant; geminantur vera pavoris
ingenio; longe spectari puppibus urbes
accensas, lucere fretum ventoque citatas
omnibus in pelago velis haerere favillas.
Hos inter strepitus funestior advolat alter
nuntius: armatam rursus Babylona minari
rege novo; resides Parthos ignava perosos
otia Romanae finem iam quaerere paci.

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457 SOLIO . . . AVITO: the *solium* was a "chair of state" and usually an impressive piece of furniture. Claudian ironically applies the term to the crude chair upon which Leo and his ancestors had sat while working with the wool.

458 QUAM BENE: Platnauer translates "how much better", as though the text were *quanto praestat laudare*. I see no justification.

460: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 10.327: miserande iaceres; *Carmen contra Paganos* 111: sic miserande iaces.

461: cf. Sidon., *Carm.* 7.600: nevere sorores.

470–1 GEMINANTUR . . . INGENIO: Claudian perhaps means that the facts were magnified to twice their actual value by an ingenuity inspired by terror; but it seems easier to consider this a reference to the natural tendency of terror to exaggerate the truth of any report. Note Stat., *Theb.* 3.344: geminatque acceptos fama pavores.

breathes out his vicious life. Who urged on you the handling of swords instead of the comb, you degenerate, who persuaded you to prefer the battlefield to your grandfather's chair? How well you used to praise in safety the chants of the weavers and to dispel the chill at morning repasts! Here you lie, poor wretch; while you sought escape from your fleeces, here the fates at last spun for you the final threads.

Now vagrant rumor set the paling court a-quiver with incessant alarms, reporting that the army was routed, the troops annihilated, the Maeonian fields defiled with massacre, Pamphylia and Pisidia ravaged. The dreadful Tarbigilus thundered from every quarter. Now he was said to be moving upon Galatia, now to threaten Bithynia. Some said that he had broken through the barrier of Taurus and was marching down through Cilicia; some, that he had seized ships and was hastening nearer by land and sea. The facts were doubled by terror's natural inclination. It was reported that from ships cities far away could be seen in flames, lighting the sea; and that their ashes, sped by the wind, clung to every sail on the deep.

In the midst of these tumults another more sinister report came flying: Babylon under a new king was again armed and menacing, and the dormant Parthians, sick of indolent ease, were now seeking to end their peace with Rome. Regicide is rare

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471 PUPPIBUS: Koch dislikes *e puppibus* because it requires the elision of the preceding *i* and objects to Heinsius' conjecture *e rupibus* on the ground that the passage is concerned with ships. He explains *puppibus* as a personified dative of agency. Birt (*Introd.* CCXXII), commenting on Claudian's free use of the ablative, offers the more plausible explanation that this is an ablative of place from which without a preposition.

476 REGE NOVO: Yazdejerd I, upon the death of Vararam IV in 399, succeeded to the throne. He was apparently as peaceably disposed toward Rome as his four immediate predecessors. Unless the text actually should read *sodalem* v. 481, Claudian is in error in calling him Sapor. Cf. Platnauer *ad loc.* RESIDES PARTHOS: Rome completed her subjugation of the Parthians in 226 in the reign of Artaxerxes.

Rarus apud Medos regum cruor, unaque cuncto
poena manet generi; quamvis crudelibus aeque
paretur dominis. Sed quid non audeat annus
Eutropii? Socium nobis fidumque Saporem
perculit et Persas in regia vulnera movit
rupturasque fidem, leto pars ne qua vacaret,
Eumenidum taedas trans flumina Tigridis egit.
  Tum vero cecidere animi tantisque procellis
deficiunt. Saepti latrantibus undique bellis
infensos tandem superos et consulis omen
agnovere sui, nec iam revocabile damnum
eventu stolido rerum didicere magistro.
  Namque ferunt geminos uno de semine fratres
Iapetionidas generis primordia nostri
dissimili finxisse manu. Quoscumque Prometheus

478–9 UNA . . . POENA: Mommsen remarks here: "Una poena, scilicet rex unus immanis, ubi semel factus est, ad vitae terminum usque cuncto generi dominari solet, non tolli caede tempestiva." Yet it seems easier to interpret *poena* literally, not as referring to the king, but to the actual punishment fixed for the entire family (*generi*) of the regicide and applying equally (*una*) to all members of that family.

481 SAPOREM: *saporem* Em ε V^1, *soporem* V^2, *sodalem* V^3 φ, gloss in Π on *sodalem: regem parthorum.* The variants *soporem* and *sodalem* appear to be corruptions of an original *saporem.* The gloss in Π seems to be a survival of an earlier gloss on *saporem* before it was corrupted, for there is nothing in the immediate context to suggest such a gloss with the reading *sodalem.*

484 *Tigridis:* Platnauer mistranslates "Euphrates".

489 RERUM: Birt's conjecture *serum* is approved by Koch and Platnauer. Koch suspects the phrase *eventus rerum*, chiefly because *eventus* is used absoutely in Livy 22.39.10. The emendation is ingenious, but unnecessary. *magistro* can be construed as an ablative of means with *didicere* (a usage confirmed in Verg., *Georg.* 1.351; Apul., *Flor.* 6 p. 22; 15 p. 60; *Vir. Ill.* 81.6) referring to Eutropius, who may surely be said to have been blind to the outcome of matters. *eventu* would be an ablative of specification depending upon *stolido.* Yet *eventu stolido rerum . . . magistro* may perhaps more plausibly be taken as an ablative absolute of attendant circumstance. The subjects in the East, being completely oblivious of the future (cf. the analogy in vv. 490–501), were capable of learning their fate only through the bitter instruction of experience.

among the Medes, and one penalty awaits the entire family. Their masters, though cruel, are nevertheless obeyed. But what would not the administration of Eutropius dare? He struck down our loyal ally, Sapor, and induced the Persians to assault their king; he flung across the stream of the Tigris the torches of the Eumenides to break the peace, lest any quarter escape destruction.

Then truly the spirits of men despaired and succumbed to these great tempests. Shut in on every side by the baying dogs of war, they finally recognized the hostility of the gods and the portent of their consul and learned their now inescapable doom with the course of events as their inflexible teacher.

For they say that the twin sons of Iapetus fashioned the first of our race from the same clay with unlike treatment. Those whom Prometheus modeled, mixing in with the clay plenty of air, see events far in the future and are prepared to meet crises through their superior composition. These whom

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490–501: Claudian has considerably modified the usual story of the creation of man as told, e. g., by Hyginus, *Fab.* 142. Claudian's story most nearly agrees with that of Plato, who says (*Protag.* 21) that the gods fabricated men and beasts, directing Prometheus and Epimetheus to endow them with suitable qualities. Epimetheus, entrusted by his brother with the distribution of these gifts, improvidently wasted them upon the inferior animals, leaving nothing for man. Prometheus remedied this deficiency by stealing artistic skill and fire from the workshop of Athena and Hephaestus and presenting them to man. Claudian's version is colored by Empedocles' theory of the elements. Earth and water tend by nature downwards and are passive; air and fire tend upwards and are active. The air infused through the limbs of the mortals fashioned by Prometheus gave them superior alertness and keenness, while its lack in those whom Epimetheus made rendered them sluggish and inert. Compare with this *IV. Cons. Hon.* 228: cum conderet artus nostros, aetheriis miscens terrena, Prometheus. Roscher (*Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* 3.2.3076) thinks that this passage alludes to Honorius and Arcadius, but it really refers to the contrasting attitude of the peoples of the Eastern and Western empire toward Stilicho. On this fable cf. esp. Mayor on Juv. 14.35.

excoluit multumque innexuit aethera limo,
hi longe ventura notant dubiisque parati
casibus occurrunt fabro meliore politi.
Deteriore luto pravus quos edidit auctor,
quem merito Grai perhibent Epimethea vates,
et nihil aetherii sparsit per membra vigoris,
hi pecudum ritu non impendentia vitant
nec res ante vident, accepta clade queruntur
et seri transacta gemunt.
Iam sola renidet
in Stilichone salus, et cuius semper acerbum
ingratumque sibi factorum conscius horror
credidit adventum, quem si procedere tantum
Alpibus audissent, mortem poenasque tremebant,
iam cuncti venisse volunt, scelerumque priorum
paenitet. Hoc tantis bellorum sidus in undis
sperant, hoc pariter iusti sontesque precantur,
ceu pueri, quibus alta pater trans aequora merces
devehit, intenti ludo studiisque soluti
latius amoto passim custode vagantur;
si gravis auxilio vacuas invaserit aedes
vicinus laribusque suis proturbet inultos,
tum demum patrem implorant et nomen inani
voce cient frustraque oculos ad litora tendunt.
Omnes supplicio dignos letoque fatentur,
qui se tradiderint famulis Stilichone relicto.
Mutati stupuere diu sensuque reducto
paulatim proprii mirantur monstra furoris
avertuntque oculos (proiectis fascibus horret

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494 NOTANT: this word occurs occasionally in the sense of "observe". Cf. Cic., *Divin.* 2.43: animadvertere et notare sidera; Petron. 6: non notavi mihi Ascylti fugam; Verg., *Ecl.* 3.68: namque notavi ipse locum; Mart. 5.49: nec ullus in longa pilus area notatur.

501: cf. Persius 5.61: transisse dies . . . seri vitam ingemuere relictam.

503 CUIUS: supply *eum* as an antecedent and as a subject for *venisse*.

507 SIDUS: for examples of this infrequent use cf. Ovid, *Pont.:* 3.3.2: O sidus Fabiae, Maxime, gentis ades (cf. *ib.* 4.6.9: Fabiae laus, Maxime, gentis); Curt. 9.6.8: Macedoniae columen ac sidus.

the poor artisan, whom the Greek bards properly call Epimetheus, made of inferior clay and through whose limbs he spread no airy vitality, these like cattle do not avoid impending disaster nor see things in advance. When the mischief is done, they complain and too late bewail the result.

Now security shone in Stilicho alone, and the man whose arrival conscious horror of past deeds made men believe would be ever bitter and unpleasant, at rumor of whose advance, if only to the Alps, they feared death and punishment, this man all now wished to come and were ashamed of their previous crimes. They hoped for this star among the great billows of war; innocent and guilty alike prayed for him. So children whose father carries wares over the deep sea, absorbed in play and remiss in their studies, wander here and there more widely, now that their protector is away; but if a ruthless neighbor invades the unprotected home and routs them with impunity from their hearth, then at last they call upon their father, cry his name in vain, and uselessly turn their eyes to the shore.

All admitted they deserved punishment and death for quitting Stilicho and submitting to slaves. With altered minds they stood for a long time stunned, and as their senses gradually returned, they marveled at the prodigies of their own madness and averted their eyes. Casting away the fasces, the lictor shuddered;

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510 SOLUTI: the frequent use of *solvere* with an ablative of separation provides good grammatical grounds for supposing that the lads mentioned here were freed from their studies during their father's absence. Cf. e. g., Cic., *Orat.* 2.6.23: volucres videmus . . . solutas opere volitare; Sen., *Oedip.* 685: solutus onere regio. A more reasonable assumption is that their studies were arranged to continue while their father was away, but that the withdrawal of parental discipline led to laxness. Cf. Cic., *Cat.* 2.12.27: mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa erat; Tac., *Or.* 18: solutum et enervem.

515: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3.68: magna . . . voce ciemus from Lucret. 4.578.

516–7: confirmed by Zosimus 5.11.2.

519: cf. Lucil. v. 565 (Lachm.): nunc ignobilitas huius mirum ac monstrificabile.

520 PROIECTIS: retained by Koch. Birt's *prostratis* from V[1] makes excellent sense but has little ms. authority.

lictor et infames labuntur sponte secures):
quales Aonio Thebas de monte reversae
Maenades infectis Pentheo sanguine thyrsis,
cum patuit venatus atrox matrique rotatum
conspexere caput, gressus caligine figunt
et rabiem desisse dolent. Quin protinus ipsa
tendit ad Italiam supplex Aurora potentem
non radiis redimita comam, non flammea vultu
nec croceum vestita diem; stat livida luctu,
qualis erat, Phrygio tegeret cum Memnona busto.
Quam simul agnovit Stilicho nec causa latebat,
restitit; illa manum victricem amplexa moratur
altaque vix lacrimans inter suspiria fatur:
"Tantane te nostri ceperunt taedia mundi?
Sic me ludibrium famulis risumque relinquis
dux quondam rectorque meus? Solamque tueris
Hesperiam? Domiti nec te post bella tyranni
cernere iam licuit? Six te victoria nobis
eripuit Gallisque dedit? Rufinus origo
prima mali; geminas inter discordia partes
hoc auctore fuit. Sed iam maiora moventi
occurrit iusta rediens exercitus ira,
fortis adhuc ferrique memor. Brevis inde reluxit
falsaque libertas; rursum Stilichonis habenis
sperabam me posse regi. Pro caeca futuri

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522 Aonio . . . monte: Mount Cithaeron in Boeotia, as in *Ruf.* 2.418.

525: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6.159: vestigia figit.

527 Aurora: the goddess of the dawn is introduced here very appropriately as interlocutor for the Eastern Empire. *Italiam* does not refer to the goddess Italia.

528: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1.349: redimitus tempora quercu; Mart. 8.65.5: lauru redimita comas et candida cultu Roma.

529 livida: Platnauer's "wan" has no justification. *Lividus* is regularly used of a bluish leaden color. Dark-skinned people do not become pale, but sallow.

534: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4.332: tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis.

and the inglorious axes dropped off of their own accord. So the Maenads, returning to Thebes from the Aonian Mount with thyrsi stained by Pentheus' blood, when the horrible nature of their hunt was clear and they viewed the head sent rolling by his mother, fixed their steps in darkness and were sorry that their madness had ended. Without delay Aurora herself repaired to powerful Italy as a suppliant, with no halo of rays about her hair, no radiance of face, nor clothed in the saffron light of day. She stood dark with grief, as when she buried Memnon in a Phrygian tomb. When Stilicho recognized her and realized her purpose, he halted; she, clasping his victorious hand, stayed him and amid tears and deep sighs said with difficulty:

"Have you become so weary of my part of the world? Do you, once my leader and mentor, thus leave me a butt and jest for slaves? Do you protect only Italy? Now that the tyrant is subdued, is there no longer any hope of seeing you? Has victory then taken you from me and given you to the Gauls? Rufinus was the origin of trouble; the discord between the two realms was instigated by him. But as he was stirring up worse trouble, the army, still brave and conscious of its steel, met him. A brief and illusory liberty then shone again; I hoped that once more I could be governed by the reins of Stilicho. Oh joys that are blind to the future! The world had begun to be

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536 RECTOR: Theodosius seems to have left Rufinus in control of the East at least partly as a check upon Stilicho; yet the latter had every right to assume that supervision of the affairs of both East and West fell into his hands upon the death of Rufinus; and Claudian overlooks no chance to stress this.

537 TYRANNI: Birt, followed by Platnauer, believes that Eugenius is meant; but Stilicho's victory over Eugenius occurred in 394 at the foot of the Alps and before the death of Theodosius. The sense requires that this victory be on the occasion of a visit to the East. It seems better to regard this as a reference to Stilicho's second expedition against Alaric in 397, which not only took place after the defeat of Eugenius, but marked Stilicho's most recent presence in the East.

541 HOC AUCTORE: note the similar use of the ablative absolute in 2.32: hoc consule. MOVENTI: note Sall., *Cat.* 31.12: Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat; Livy 23.39: movere ac moliri quicquid.

gaudia! Fraterno coniungi coeperat orbis
imperio (quis enim tanto terrore recentis
exempli paribus sese committeret ausis?),
cum subito (monstrosa mihi turpisque relatu
fabula) Rufini castratus prosilit heres,
et similes iterum luctus Fortuna reduxit,
ut solum domini sexum mutasse viderer.
"Hic primum thalami claustris delicta tegebat
clam timideque iubens; erat invidiosa potestas,
sed tamen eunuchi, necdum sibi publica iura
sumere nec totas audebat vertere leges.
Sed postquam pulsisque bonis et faece retenta
peiores legit socios dignusque satelles
hinc Hosius stetit, inde Leo, fiducia crevit
regnandique palam flagravit aperta libido.
Patricius, consul maculat quos vendit honores;
plus maculat quos ipse gerit. Iam signa tubaeque
mollescunt, ipsos ignavia fluxit in enses.
Exultant merito gentes facilisque volenti
praeda sumus. Iam Bistoniis Haemoque nivali
vastior expulsis oriens squalescit aratris.
Ei mihi, quas urbes et quanto tempore Martis
ignaras uno rapuerunt proelia cursu!
Nuper ab extremo veniens equitatus Araxe
terruit Antiochi muros ipsumque decorae
paene caput Syriae flammis hostilibus arsit.
Utque gravis spoliis nulloque obstante profunda
laetus caede redit, sequitur mucrone secundo
continuum vulnus; nec iam mihi Caucasus hostes
nec mittit gelidus Phasis; nascuntur in ipso
bella sinu. Legio pridem Romana Gruthungi,
iura quibus victis dedimus, quibus arva domusque
praebuimus, Lydos Asiaeque uberrima vastant
ignibus et si quid tempestas prima reliquit.
Nec vi nec numero freti; sed inertia nutrit
proditioque ducum, quorum per crimina miles
captivis dat terga suis, quos teste subegit
Danuvio, partemque timet qui reppulit omnes.

united under the rule of brothers (for who, with such a dreadful example still fresh, would undertake a like venture?), when suddenly (a monstrous story I am ashamed to mention) a eunuch successor to Rufinus leapt forward, and fortune brought back again the same anguish of heart, so that I seemed to have changed only the sex of my master.

"At first he hid his crimes behind the barred doors of the bed-chamber, ruling secretly and timidly. His authority was enviable, but still that of a eunuch; and he did not yet dare to take to himself the laws of the state nor wholly to subvert the statutes. But when, driving out the best and retaining the dregs of the people, he selected worse associates, when his worthy satellite Hosius stood on one side and Leo on the other, his self-assurance grew, and frank lust for power burst into open flame. As patrician and as consul he disgraced the offices he sold; he disgraced more those he himself filled. Standards and trumpets now languished; the torpor spread even to the swords. The nations had good reason to rejoice, and we were the easy prey of any aspirant. More desolate now than Thrace or snowy Haemus, the East is falling into neglect since the expulsion of the plow. Alas! what cities, how long unfamiliar with war, battles have ravaged in one course! Recently a band of horsemen coming from remote Araxes dismayed the walls of Antioch and almost consumed the very capital of fair Syria with hostile flames. And as, heavy with spoils and unopposed, they returned, jubilant over their terrific slaughter, their favored swords inflicted wound on wound. It is not now Caucasus or chill Phasis that sends foes against me; wars take their birth in my very bosom. The Gruthungians were once a Roman legion; we defeated them and gave them a constitution, provided them with farms and homes. Now they are wasting with fire Lydia and the most fertile regions of Asia and all that the first storm left. They depend upon neither strength nor number, but are sustained by the inertia and treachery of our generals, through whose treason the soldiers turn their backs to their own captives, whom they once subdued, as the Danube can testify, fearing a fraction after having repulsed the whole.

555: cf. Lucan 9.249: publica iura.

557 SED: Koch adopts *at* from C, disliking the repetition of *sed* in v. 555. FAECE: for somewhat similar use cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.9.5: apud illam perditissimam atque infimam faecem populi; Lucret. 5.1141: res itaque ad summam faecem turbasque redibat.

565 BISTONIIS: for *Bistonibus*, i. e., the Thracians.

569 ARAXE: a river in Armenia, rising in Mt. Aba or Abus and joining the Cyrus, which empties into the Caspian Sea. The barbarians mentioned here seem to have been Scythians or Huns who crossed the Caucasus.

"Aula choris epulisque vacat nec perdita curat,
dum superest aliquid. Ne quid tamen orbe reciso
venditor amittat, provincia quaeque superstes
dividitur, geminumque duplex passura tribunal
cogitur alterius pretium sarcire peremptae.
Sic mihi restituunt populos; hac arte reperta
rectorum numerum terris pereuntibus augent.
"In te iam spes una mihi. Pro fronde Minervae
has tibi protendo lacrimas; succurre ruenti,
eripe me tandem, servilibus eripe regnis.
Neve adeo cunctos paucorum crimine damnes
nec nova tot meritis offensa prioribus obstet.
Iamiam flecte animum. Suprema pericula semper
dant veniam culpae. Quamvis iratus et exul
pro patriae flammis non distulit arma Camillus.
Nec te subtrahimus Latio; defensor utrique
sufficis. Armorum liceat splendore tuorum
in commune frui; clipeus nos protegat idem
unaque pro gemino desudet cardine virtus."

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584 CHORIS EPULISQUE: This is perhaps an instance of hendiadys, meaning only "crowded banquets". The meaning "crowds" for *choris* finds support in *Nupt. Hon. praef.* 10: molles choros; *IV Cons. Hon.* 604: choros; *Carm. Min.* 31.52: sancto . . . choro. *Chorus*, however, so often connotes, if it does not actually denote, dancing that it may be better to translate the phrase "entertainers and banqueters" and consider the entertainers as chiefly musicians and dancers who amused the diners.

586–8: Eutropius, when the inroads of barbarian forces had deprived the East of half her provinces in Asia, promptly halved each of the remaining provinces, placed a governor in charge of each half, and increased its taxes sufficiently to compensate for the taxes he could no longer collect from the lost provinces.

591 FRONDE MINERVAE: Minerva was goddess of war, and if Stilicho should accept her wreath when it was proffered, this act would symbolize his intention to declare war under the patronage of the goddess.

"The palace is given over to entertainments and banquets and is indifferent to losses, so long as something remains. Yet, lest the auctioneer suffer some loss through the reduction of the empire, each surviving province is split, and the two halves under a dual jurisdiction are compelled to assume the burden of the lost province. Thus they restore peoples to me; by this device they increase the number of governors, while lands are being lost.

"My sole hope is now in you. Instead of the garland of Minerva I proffer these tears to you. Help me as I totter, rescue me, pray rescue me at last from a slave's rule! Do not condemn all for the crime of a few, nor let a recent offence block the reward of so many previous merits. Come, relent; extreme peril always excuses a fault. Even though angered and an exile, Camillus did not hesitate to take up arms to save his country from flames. I am not stealing you away from Latium; you are equal to the defence of both realms. Permit the common enjoyment of the splendor of your arms; let the same shield protect us and one valiant soul sweat in defence of two centres of state."

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592 HAS TIBI PROTENDO LACRIMAS: Birt convinced himself that the letters *tibi pro* were deformed from (*s*)*tilicho* in Ω, the *PR* arising from *CH*. The proximity of the two s's would easily have led to the dropping of one. He goes on to state that *protendere* was a term unknown to Claudian and that he could not have written *protendere lacrimas* even though he were the boldest of phrase makers, quoting *Rapt. Pros.* 2.249 (*questus ad nubila tendit inanes*) to support *tendere lacrimas. protento . . . conto* (*Sex. Cons. Hon.* 270) shows the word was not unknown to Claudian, and even if it were used nowhere except in this passage, its use in classical Latin is not so rare as to have placed it beyond Claudian's vocabulary. Cf. Petron. 17: protendo ad genua vestra supinas manus; Catull. 64.127: protendere aciem (oculorum); Ovid, *Metam.* 14.191: bracchia . . . in mare protendens. *tendere* usually has the meaning of "hold out," "extend", as in Cic., *Cat.* 4.9.18: manus tendit patria; Verg., *Aen.* 2.674: parvumque patri tendebat Iulum. The last citation shows a development from the simple idea of holding out to the fuller one of holding out in an exhibitory manner. *Protendere* and *tendere* have but little difference in actual meaning, and Claudian has here stressed the exhibitory force of the action, almost to the exclusion of the original meaning of "hold out", which could not properly apply to tears. Birt derives no support from *Rapt. Pros.* 2.249, for in that passage *tendere* is used with quite a different meaning.

598 CAMILLUS: he was recalled from voluntary exile in 390 to act as dictator and with a hastily organized army routed the Gauls who had taken the city.